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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Chemical Arms Convention Delay Viewed *[Georgiyiev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 May]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Press Briefing 3
Afghan Reconciliation 'Wise' 3
Troop Casualties To Be Revealed *[AFP]* 3
Violation of INF Pact Denied 4
Austria EC Membership Viewed 4
Caracas Seminar on CEMA Noted 4
6th Interaction Council Session Opens in Moscow 4
FRG's Schmidt Chairs Meeting 4
Demichev Greets Participants 5
Members Attend Kremlin Dinner 5
Gromyko, Schmidt Speak 5
Pogodin Views Economic Cooperation With West 7
Problems Facing World Youth Festival Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 May]* 8
Karlov Describes Soviet Role in UNESCO 9
Kashlev Views Expected CSCE Document *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 May]* 9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Senate Continues INF Treaty Ratification Debate 11
'War of Nerves' Expected *[Gan in PRAVDA 15 May]* 11
Korshunov Comments on Debate 11
Reagan Urges Ratification 12
Israel's Peres Visits U.S., Discusses Mideast 12
Confers With Shultz 12
Holds Talks With Reagan 12
Ends Private Visit 12
Vavilov Views Fitzwater's Afghan Statement 13
U.S. Arms Go to Afghan Rebels Via Pakistan 13
Yakovlev Receives Visiting U.S. Businessman 14
TASS Cites U.S. Polls on Attitudes to USSR 14
Reflects Need for Summits 14
Reagans Receive Soviet, U.S. Schoolchildren 15
Pozner Describes Soviet TV Program on U.S. 15
Taft Urges Japan To Improve Defense *[Biryukov]* 15
U.S., Greece End Talks on Future of Bases 16
Briefs 16
Aeroflot-Pan Am Joint Venture 16

China

Soviet Journalists Meet With Peng Chong *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 16
Culture Minister Zakharov on Cooperation 17
Further Mutual Economic Cooperation Planned 17
Soviet Ships To Be Refitted in Heilongjiang 17

Northeast Asia

10 Reported Dead in Cruise Ship Fire at Osaka 17
Kalinin Views Taft Statement, Defense Spending 17
Mongolian Friendship Society Jubilee Marked *[PRAVDA 13 May]* 18

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Thai Prime Minister's Visit 18
Comparison of Moscow Arrival *[IZVESTIYA 17 May]* 18
Foreign Ministers Meet 19
Ryzhkov, Prem Hold Talks *[PRAVDA 18 May]* 19
Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze Attend Dinner 20
Ryzhkov, Prem Speeches *[PRAVDA 18 May]* 21
AFP Reports Prem Speech 24
Gorbachev Receives Prem 24
Commentary on Visit 24

Near East & South Asia

First Motor Rifle Unit Arrives From Afghanistan 25
Najibullah's 'Gratitude' Reported 25
Rebel Shellings Condemned 25
'No Delays' at Salang Pass *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 May]* 26
Troops Shelled En Route 26
Border Town Welcomes Unit 27
Refugees Return From Iran 27
Egyptian Reaction to Afghan Pullout Assessed *[PRAVDA 14 May]* 28
Egypt's Foreign Minister Lauds Soviet Aid *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 28
Pakistan's Noorani Leaves Moscow for Home 28
Changes in Iranian Forces Hierarchy Viewed 29
'Terrorists' Stage Attacks in Sudanese Capital *[IZVESTIYA 17 May]* 29
YAR's Al-Attar Holds Talks in Moscow 29
Arrives 14 May *[Sanaa]* 29
Meets Dobrynin *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 30
PDRY Culture Minister Holds Talks in Moscow *[Aden ANA]* 30

Sub-Saharan Africa

Urnov Received by Zambian President 30
Friendship Agreement Signed With Zimbabwe *[IZVESTIYA 11 May]* 30
Angolan Official Rules Out Talks With UNITA 30
Angola's Kivila Says RSA Accord 'Possible' *[IZVESTIYA 14 May]* 31
Angolan President Cited on Cuban Troops 31
Ethiopia Declares State of Emergency 32
Ethiopian Red Cross Official Views Soviet Aid 32
Adamishin Talks With African Ambassadors *[IZVESTIYA 13 May]* 32
Demichev Receives Departing Somali Envoy 32

East Europe

GDR's Honecker Commemorates Liberation Day *[PRAVDA 7 May]* 33
Further on Yazov Return From GDR Visit *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 May]* 36
Polish Legal Unions Seen To Protect Workers *[TRUD 15 May]* 36
Greetings to New SFRY Leader Published *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 37
LCY Plenum Discusses Economic Situation *[PRAVDA 13 May]* 37
Jakes Addresses Prague Party Organization *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 38
Demichev Receives Romanian Party Official 38

West Europe

UK Upgrading at Odds With Nuclear Curb Efforts *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 May]* 38
Tolstykh Receives UK's Lord Callaghan 38
Gromyko Greets Tampere Non-Nuclear Forum *[PRAVDA 16 May]* 39
Envoy Objects to Austria's 'Full' EC Membership *[Vienna Television]* 39
Austrian Minister Blecha Holds Moscow Briefing 39
Portuguese, Soviet Leaders Discuss South Africa 40
Adamishin Remarks Cited *[Lisbon]* 40
Kornilov Assesses 'New Page' in FRG Relations 40
'Rejoinder' to FRG Defense Minister's Remarks *[Lukyanov in PRAVDA 16 May]* 41
Weekly Interviews Italian Communist Natta 41
Petrovskiy Receives Netherlands State Minister 42
Kovalev Receives Belgian Diplomat Van Looke 42
Presidium, Greek President Exchange Greetings *[IZVESTIYA 14 May]* 42
RSFSR Officials Meet With Istanbul Officials *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 May]* 42

Latin America & Caribbean

Bombs Damage TASS Office in Guatemala 43
Nicaragua UN Official Protests U.S. Contra Aid 43
Brazilian Local Councillors Visit RSFSR *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 May]* 43

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Pavlograd Chemical Plant Explosion Kills Three 44
Reportedly Made Rocket Fuel *[AFP]* 44
'Democratic Union' Figure Jailed for 15 Days *[AFP]* 44
Moscow Weekly Views 'Democratic Union' 44
Azerbaijan Presidium Appeal on Nagorno-Karabakh *[Baku]* 45
Moscow TV Carries Appeal by Azerbaijani Writer 46
Western Media View of Interethnic Relations
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 13 May] 46
Poll of Views on National Relations Published *[PRAVDA 16 May]* 48
Repatriation of Crimean Tatars Described *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 8 May]* 48
Murakhovskiy Chairs Baykal Environment Forum *[IZVESTIYA 17 May]* 50
'Native Language' Festival in Poltava *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 8 May]* 50
Dushanbe All-Union Conference on Islam Ends *[IZVESTIYA 13 May]* 51
Sokolov, Ryabov Address Belorussian Plenum *[PRAVDA 14 May]* 51
Postponement of Party Conference Suggested *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 18 May]* 51
Delegates to Party Conference 'Recommended' *[TRUD 14 May]* 53
PRAVDA Chief Editor Afanasyev Interviewed *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 7 May]* 54
Limited Tenure of Elective Party Office Urged *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 9 May]* 57
Reader Cites 'Duplication' of Executive Efforts *[PRAVDA 16 May]* 58
Reader Calls for 'Party Pluralism' *[PRAVDA 16 May]* 59
Journalist Concerned Over Glasnost Limitations *[IZVESTIYA 15 May]* 59
Even Stalinists Must Have 'Right to Speak' *[MOSCOW NEWS No 18]* 60
Burlatskiy on Penal Code Reform, Religion *[Paris LE MONDE 17 May]* 61
Reform of Prisons, Penal Colonies Urged *[MOSCOW NEWS No 18]* 62
'Trial' TV Program Profiles Life Under Stalin 63
Briefs 68
Azerbaijan TV Relay Station 68
Order of Lenin 68
Independent Production Associations 68
Press Awards 68

Economic

State Bank Does Not Expect Ruble Convertibility *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 18 May]* 68
Petrakov Discusses Need for Price Reform *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 16 May]* 69
Joint Enterprises Said To Build Confidence 71

Agricultural

Pasturing Period Demands Skillful Work *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 72
Ligachev Addresses Mixed Feed Conference *[PRAVDA 13 May]* 73

Scientific

Zamyatin on Loss of 'Cosmos-1900' Contact *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 76
'Mir' Cosmonauts Unload 'Progress-36' 76

Chemical Arms Convention Delay Viewed

PM1705102588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by O. Georgiyev: "Who Is Delaying the Talks"]

[Text] The spring session of the disarmament conference—one of the most authoritative international forums—has ended in Geneva. But the draft convention on banning chemical weapons, on whose elaboration delegations from over 40 states have been working for over 7 years now, still remains uncompleted. It seemed to many people that this session should have been the last in the labor—so protracted and persistent—of many hundreds of specialists. In particular FRG Chancellor H. Kohl pointed out that "in Geneva the draft convention is virtually ready and it includes verification measures which accord with the interests of the West." In his opinion a system of verification of the banning and elimination not only of stocks of chemical weapons but also of the industrial base of these weapons could if necessary be worked out during the convention's implementation. But the latest session of the disarmament conference has ended and the draft convention is still a draft. What obstacles are preventing the further coordination of the articles of the future international document?

Answering this question, Yu.K. Nazarkin, the head of the Soviet delegation, pointed to the U.S. position, which has been virtually frozen at the 1984 level, when the Americans submitted their own draft for the future convention. Since then they have not moved on a single issue of substance, although during this time considerable progress has been achieved at the talks thanks to the efforts of many other states.

What are the reasons? Above all the U.S. Administration's lack of firm political will for the complete and effective banning of chemical weapons. Thus, in talks with journalists U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci states that the United States cannot embark now on a "complete zero" in terms of chemical weapons because, in his opinion, the retention of these weapons in certain quantities will be for "the East a certain deterrent."

The real possibility of developing the industrial technology for the mass production of binary chemical weapons has also become a serious problem. Having begun the industrial production of binary chemical artillery ammunition and then of large aerial bombs, in the middle of December last year, the U.S. Administration is seeking to place orders for their manufacture as rapidly as possible and to set up industrial lines. Thus it plans to create a solid industrial basis for the production of a new generation of chemical armaments. While loudly stating that binary chemical weapons create no obstacles to the conclusion of the convention, because they should be excluded from arsenals together with any other chemical weapons, the Pentagon is nonetheless signing long-term contracts with U.S. chemical firms. And chemical weapons businessmen have already received assurances from military figures in the U.S. Defense Department that the present administration will do all that is necessary and obligatory to ensure that the talks in Geneva, at least for the next 5-7 years, do not prevent the development and production of binary systems. A very frank and unambiguous solution [suzhdeniye].

Finally, the U.S. Government is reluctant to seek ways and means to ensure international verification of the private chemical industry, including enterprises belonging to multinational corporations, primarily those on foreign territories. Thus, in attempting to use the features of its own economic system, the United States is seeking every possible means to preserve its scientific and production potential for chemical weapons.

The United States' approach to the holding of the talks, its practical deeds in the broad industrial assimilation of binary technology, the administration's plans to actually double the chemical ammunition arsenal in the next few years—all this is giving rise to grave fears. The question even arises: Is Washington seriously seeking to conclude a convention? Having begun the production of binary chemical weapons, the United States has assumed full responsibility for the conservation of the threat of chemical war and the delay in elaborating and concluding a future convention.

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes leaving any loopholes for the chemical arms race. Our position is that in accordance with the provisions of the future convention all chemical weapons and the facilities for their production, including without fail binary weapons, should be subject to destruction. Here inspections on demand without the right of refusal should encompass all chemical industry establishments coming under suspicion, irrespective of ownership (whether they are owned by the state or are private) and of where they are situated, including the territories of third countries. This approach by the USSR to the solution of the problem of banning chemical weapons is supported by the socialist countries, the majority of nonaligned and neutral states, and a number of NATO countries.

To create an atmosphere of trust, glasnost, and openness at the talks and to rapidly complete work on the convention, the USSR has taken a number of specific steps: It has halted the production of chemical weapons; it has stated that it possesses chemical weapons stocks of no more than 50,000 tonnes in terms of toxins; it has invited the participants in the talks to the military establishment in Shikhany and has familiarized them with the Soviet Armed Forces' entire chemical ammunition stock and the technology for destroying this ammunition on a mobile facility. It has announced that it will not pass on chemical weapons to other countries and that there are no chemical weapons on foreign territories; it has submitted a draft memorandum on the exchange of data as early as the first half of this year, which makes it possible to resolve many questions of the convention, and it has earmarked the chemical enterprise on USSR territory where the organization of a verification system

will be tested. A special stationary facility for the destruction of chemical weapons is being created in our country in the region of Chapayevsk City.

The Soviet Union is prepared to continue to do everything in its power to ensure that the convention becomes reality as early as this year.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Press Briefing

Afghan Reconciliation 'Wise'

LD1705141588 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—"It is believed in the Soviet Union that the Geneva agreements will give a strong impulse to the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

The Soviet spokesman referred to as "wise" the national reconciliation policy which is winning over more and more supporters, including those among Afghans who for this or that reason found themselves outside their native land.

As of today, Gennadiy Gerasimov recalled, more than 130,000 refugees have already returned to the country. Seven hundred and sixty-seven armed opposition detachments with an aggregate membership of about 60,000 are holding talks with the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Reconciliation terms have been accepted by more than 50,000 former oppositionists, six thousand of whom have become members of coalition bodies of power which are being set up in 30 provinces of the country.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry refuted conjectures about "expanionist plans of Moscow" and about its alleged desire to reach "warm seas" through Afghanistan.

Now that Soviet troops are returning home, Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized, the absurdity of such conjectures is particularly manifest.

Nevertheless, he went on to say, new insinuations emerge. In a number of countries, for example, rumours are being spread that upon the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, a division of Afghanistan into northern and southern parts is possible, and that the country's northern provinces which directly border on the Soviet Union will allegedly turn into a buffer state.

There will be no partitioning of Afghanistan, Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

The spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs described as a "gross lie" the report by L. Zeccani, correspondent of the French newspaper LE MONDE, that Soviet troops are allegedly taking away with them to the USSR a unique archeological gold collection belonging to the Museum of Afghanistan. In this connection the spokesman recalled that it was precisely from representatives of Western countries that the Afghan customs office confiscated unique antiques which are the property of the Afghans.

Troop Casualties To Be Revealed

AU1705133288 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 17 (AFP)—The Soviet Union denied Tuesday that Afghanistan would be partitioned into northern and southern sectors after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, with the north acting as a "buffer zone" along the Soviet border.

"No division of Afghanistan is being planned," Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news conference.

"New insinuations" that the ruling Soviet-backed government would partition Afghanistan were "of course a lie", he said.

The Communist Party daily PRAVDA on Tuesday published details of a news conference by Afghan leader Najibullah in Kabul on Saturday, and reported that the Kabul government had set up a government representation for the north of Afghanistan.

But Mr. Najibullah had denied the "rumours" that "the Afghan Government was intending to move itself into the north of the country and proceed with a partition of the country," PRAVDA said, quoting the Soviet news agency TASS.

According to the PRAVDA account, the Afghan leader said "the representation was created to resolve pressing economic and social problems in this region which provides almost one half of the country's national product".

Asked how the creation of a government representation should be interpreted if this did not mean partition, Mr. Gerasimov stressed that no division of Afghanistan was planned.

The transfer of "various administrative bodies in various provinces" did not imply any divisions, he said, adding that Afghanistan "is a multinational state."

The estimated 115,000 Soviet troops began a phased nine-month withdrawal from Afghanistan Sunday under Geneva accords, ending an eight-and-a-half year military intervention.

Mr. Gerasimov said that details of the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and the number of "dead, wounded and missing in action" would be revealed shortly.

Noting that Pakistan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani had been in Moscow since Sunday for talks with Soviet officials, Mr. Gerasimov said that after the Geneva accords came into effect on Sunday, the most important task was to ensure "the renunication aggression" and noninterference from outside.

Islamabad and Kabul signed the Geneva accords, with the Soviet Union and United States as guarantors.

Violation of INF Pact Denied

LD1705155188 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The Soviet Union has not and will not violate in any way the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

His statement was prompted by the recent report in THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper which asserted with reference to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency that the USSR, in breach of the INF Treaty, ostensibly test-fired sea-launched cruise missiles at a proving ground in the area of Murmansk.

Such a report, the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out, is obviously intended for those who are not familiar with the contents of the said treaty.

The INF Treaty, he recalled, covers only land-based ballistic and cruise missiles with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometres and does not apply to sea-launched ballistic and cruise missiles of the above-mentioned range. Sea-launched missiles are sometimes tested both by the Soviet Union and the United States on proving grounds on land, which does not contradict the provisions of the INF Treaty.

Apparently, such a report appeared in THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper not just by chance. Practically all obstacles to ratification of the INF Treaty are known to have already been practically eliminated at the USSR and USA foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva. A legitimate question arises in this connection: Is not the publication of such report yet another attempt at hindering ratification of the treaty and thereby complicating Soviet-American relations on the eve of the summit meeting in Moscow, pointed out the head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Austria EC Membership Viewed

LD1705133588 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—"Austria's membership in the European Community would be incompatible with her permanent neutrality sealed in the special constitutional act and the State Treaty of 1955," a statement to this effect was made at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The European Community, he continued, gradually evolves from a predominantly economic organisation into a political, and even military-political one. Most of the participants in that community are simultaneously members of the NATO military bloc or the West European alliance. If Austria joined that organisation, it would have to follow strictly all the prescriptions and decisions including in the military-political field, which are taken within the EEC framework. The official representatives of that community have repeatedly explained that no allowances for Austria's neutral status will be made for her if she joins that organisation.

The Soviet stand, Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized, is based on our sincere wish to see Austria, as before, a prosperous neutral state not dependent on anybody either in economic or political terms.

Caracas Seminar on CEMA Noted

LD1705140788 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—An international seminar on pressing issues of deepening contacts between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) and the Latin American economic system, held in Caracas the other day, demonstrated that Latin American and Caribbean countries, like the CMEA member states, have ample potential opportunities for developing versatile business ties, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

At present, the CMEA countries and the member states of the Latin American economic system already have a treaty and legal basis of cooperation. They have concluded over 400 agreements in the field of trade, fishing, sea shipping, economy, science and technology. Hundreds of projects in power engineering and other areas have been built or are under construction with CMEA countries' assistance.

But in the opinion of statesmen and businessmen of the two groups of countries many reserves in the development of trade and economic relations have not been tapped as yet, Gerasimov said.

The international political climate, which has shaped up lately, certainly becomes auspicious for more successful economic, scientific and technical contacts between Latin America and socialist countries, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry stressed.

6th Interaction Council Session Opens in Moscow

FRG's Schmidt Chairs Meeting

LD1705123388 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The Interaction Council opened its 6th session here today and its chairman, former West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, said at the opening ceremony that it would discuss ways to resolve the problems of ecology, the huge foreign debt of developing nations and regional conflicts.

The council is an international organization grouping some 30 former heads of state and government and prominent politicians.

They were greeted on behalf of the Soviet leadership by Petr Demichev, an alternative member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Demichev Greets Participants

LD1705201988 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—"International security and a solution to problems of social and economic development are now most closely connected with each other," stated Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, he greeted the participants in the Interaction Council's session which opened in the Soviet capital today.

Petr Demichev pointed out that the stand of the Interaction Council—which brings together prominent state and public figures of various countries who have set themselves as an object to exert positive influence on a solution to key issues of the present-day world development and to promote mutual understanding among the peoples—is consonant with the principles of the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union.

"From our point of view, to end the arms race and to achieve real disarmament is at the same time a major condition for normalizing the economic and social development of all peoples," he said.

"The purpose is to find a balance of diverse interests with due account of pluralism in the present-day world. The new political thinking which opens the way for a nuclear-free and non-violent world is rooted in this objective logic of actuality."

Speaking of the current restructuring process in Soviet society, Petr Demichev emphasized that "the endurance of the freedom of the individual" are important components of perestroyka. "We are ready for active and constructive cooperation on all humanitarian issues."

Touching upon the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by the President of the United States, Petr Demichev expressed hope that the visit would end with tangible positive results.

"The process of ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is, of course, having its influence upon the atmosphere of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting. The peoples of the world wait for the completion of the process. We expect that the new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting will also bring us much closer to a reduction in strategic offensive arms. We believe that the Interaction Council's recommendation strictly to comply with the provisions of the ABM Treaty and to take all necessary measures to prevent an arms race in outer space should also find its realization."

Members Attend Kremlin Dinner

LD1705191188 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 17 MAY 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a dinner in the Kremlin today in honour of the members of the Interaction Council which is holding its regular session in Moscow.

The reception was attended by widely known figures—members of the Interaction Council: Takeo Fukuda, honorary chairman of the Interaction Council, former prime minister of Japan, Helmut Schmidt, chairman of the Interaction Council, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Lord James Callaghan, former prime minister of Britain, Jenoe Fock, former chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers, Arturo Frondizi, former president of Argentina, Manea Manescu, former prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, Pastrana Borrero, former president of Colombia, Mitja Ribicic, former president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, Pierre-Elliot Trudeau, former prime minister of Canada, Ola Ullsten, former prime minister of Sweden, and by members of the Political Commission of the Interaction Council: Huang Hua, former minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China, William Rogers, former U.S. secretary of state, and by other members of the Interaction Council and its Political Commission. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1730 GMT on 17 May carries a similar report which adds: "Present at the reception were Comrade Demichev and representatives of the Soviet public at large. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Helmut Schmidt gave short speeches. The reception took place in a friendly atmosphere."]

Gromyko, Schmidt Speak

LD1705220088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a dinner in the Kremlin today in honor of members of the Interaction Council, which is conducting a regular session in Moscow.

Andrey Gromyko delivered a brief speech at the reception. He said:

I cordially welcome the eminent public figures, the members of the Interaction Council, here in this historic

hall in the ancient Kremlin. Your names are renowned far beyond the borders of the countries where you live. Only recently you all stood at the helm of state and kept your hand on the pulse of international politics.

Today you are united in the Interaction Council, which has as a distinguishing feature that it gathers together prominent figures from various countries and continents. These people, like us Soviet people, are concerned about global problems. They think about tomorrow, first and foremost.

Your Interaction Council has become almost the prototype of a universal gathering that can inform people of its own tried and tested views and desires, motivated by noble intentions.

Increasingly large numbers of people are attentively following the activities of your council, in particular the choice of topics for discussion, and the nature of the discussions of public concern.

I see many acquaintances among the participants in the council session who have arrived in Moscow.

You have arrived at a responsible and, in many respects, crucial moment in the development of international relations. The historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed. Hopes have emerged for settlement of a number of regional conflicts.

However, at the same time, our Western partners in the talks still have strong prejudices, and the rift between word and deed is often felt.

Many members of your council will not be limited to a brief visit to Moscow and discussions in the House of Unions. They will get to know other cities and republics of our country.

I am sure that they will give a worthy appraisal of the reality and the implementation, to a certain extent, of our grandiose restructuring. This is the course toward renewal, radical economic reform, and profound democratization of Soviet society under conditions of broad glasnost—in other words, everything in which the will of millions of Soviet workers is embodied.

It is our deep belief that the system of international relations as a whole—and I mean, of course, not in words, but in essence—is also in need of radical reform. The contemporary world is a complex palette of interests and aspirations. A profound understanding of this situation is, indeed, a new political way of thinking.

Guided by this, the Soviet Union is striving to make its contribution to the joint creative process in which all countries are taking part and which can and should result in finding a solution to urgent global problems. We see stable and guaranteed security for all states and peoples of the world, large or small, as the outcome of this process.

Such an outcome is attainable if there is a decisive turn away from confrontation toward cooperation, away from rivalry toward interaction. Here lies the main aim of the restructuring in international relations that we are calling for. There is nothing unrealizable here, if one is guided by realism.

The security sphere is without doubt a priority direction for concentrating multilateral efforts. What is needed here is the mobilization of the collective wisdom of all countries and peoples. No one doubts that it is incumbent on the nuclear powers—first and foremost, the Soviet Union and the United States of America—to manifest particular responsibility. But other states, too, can and must assist the process of eliminating nuclear weapons.

When we speak about the priority of nuclear disarmament and about altogether eliminating weapons of mass destruction, this by no means signifies that other forms of weapons should remain aside. It is now clear to all just how closely related are all aspects of curtailing the arms race. Strenuous work must proceed simultaneously on all aspects.

Disarmament is the main direction for establishing universal security but not the sole one. Genuine security cannot be attained while regional conflicts continue. Some people describe these as "low intensity wars." But is it really any easier for the families of fighters killed in such conflicts if they are described as "low intensity" conflicts?

Our strategic goal is an all-embracing system of international security. We are open for broad discussion on the means of achieving this goal. One would like such a discussion to be conducted with the active involvement of the public, and of yourselves, esteemed members of the Interaction Council.

We hope to derive much that is useful in this respect from the results of the discussion: "The Problem of Guaranteeing International Security and the Prospects for the World Economy in the 1990's." This topic was chosen for discussion by the Interaction Council at its Moscow meeting.

I wish the council members a fruitful completion of their important and responsible work. I would like to recall that it is only a matter of days before an important event will take place, the Soviet-U.S. summit. The summit level dialogue will resume in our capital.

I think I will express the feelings of all present if I voice the conviction that this fourth meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan will, likewise, end with weighty results of importance for the causes of disarmament, peace, and security of peoples.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, I express gratitude to the members of the Interaction Council for the fact that they have chosen Moscow, the capital of the Soviet state, as the venue of their session. I wish you success in your work, useful to mankind.

Subsequently Helmut Schmidt, chairman of the Interaction Council, former FRG chancellor, took the floor. He said:

Allow me personally and on behalf of Mr Fukuda, honorary chairman of the Interaction Council, and on behalf of all the members of the council, to thank the Soviet leadership for the invitation to come to you, to Moscow, and to hold the council's sixth session in the USSR. I also wish to express gratitude to you, Mr Gromyko, since we feel that your personal concern was behind this invitation.

I would like to say a few words about the Interaction Council. Former heads of states and governments of the planet's five continents comprise its members. Among them are people who practise Hinduism and Buddhism, Muslims and Christians, conservatives and liberals, social democrats—I am among them— socialists, and communists.

We have assembled together all these years because we believe that it is advisable to exchange views and opinions on the current state of world affairs.

You said here that you see among us many familiar faces; in other words, people with whom you have in the post had talks and discussed serious problems. I will say that as soon as we received the invitation to come to Moscow, we accepted it immediately because we believe that your country today is the most interesting place in the world.

It is interesting for us for the two reasons, about which, incidentally, you yourself spoke.

The first of these consists of the fact that we all feel that here, in Moscow, the most interesting events of the end of the 20th century are taking place. They give us confidence that mankind will enter the 21st century with a growing understanding of the need for cooperation between East and West, first and foremost, between the Soviet Union and the United States.

We believe that an interesting turning point is happening in the international situation on our planet, and we hope that the progress in this direction will bear fruit. We hope that, together with the United States, you will complete yet another step in ensuring this progress when, in a few days, the summit meeting takes place between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

The second reason is linked to the fact that we all show great interest, I would even say curiosity, in the process of restructuring in your country. We are being drawn toward it.

We wish you earnest success in this sphere.

We met in Moscow with fine weather and warm hospitality both from you and from the Soviet leadership. In return, on behalf of the members of the Interaction Council, I would like to express to you good wishes for success on the path of carrying out your reforms.

The reception passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Pogodin Views Economic Cooperation With West

LD1705130488 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] We present a commentary on some of the problems discussed on 16th May at the meeting between the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the West German minister of economics, Dr Martin Bangemann. Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

As might be expected, the sides discussed various aspects of the countries' bilateral relations. It's clear, though, that those questions affect not only the interests of these two states but also influence the European and world climate. Only recently the mistrust and suspicion between the Soviet Union and Federal Germany hindered the improvement of the overall situation between the East and the West. The fact that the two countries have turned over a new leaf in their relations favors peace in Europe and in the world.

It's noteworthy that in their talks Mikhail Gorbachev and Martin Bangemann supplemented their discussion of political and security problems with a careful assessment of the present state and prospects of economic cooperation. This is a feature of the present time. Over the past 3 years, all the frequent meetings of the Soviet leadership with government and political leaders of many countries have urged extensive economic cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Such cooperation can serve as a material foundation for progress in political ideas and relaxation of tension.

It's sometimes alleged that such cooperation would only benefit the Soviet Union. It's true that the USSR is interested in business contacts with other countries, but the West would also benefit from such cooperation. A recent poll in the United States has shown that 87 percent of managers of major American corporations have spoken in favor of dealing with the Soviet Union.

Businessmen in Western Europe are even more interested in such links. In this connection, an important mutual wish has been expressed by the USSR and Federal Germany to complete the work on giving a formal framework to the relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. Talks on this issue have been going on since 1986 and if, as expected, they are successfully concluded, this will be an important step towards removing the existing economic barriers and establishing a wide international business and political cooperation.

Problems Facing World Youth Festival Noted
PM1705133188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 88 p 3

["Gangway Interview" with S. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, by own correspondent M. Chikin: "The 13th World Festival Under Starter's Orders"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The second session of the International Preparatory Committee for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students opens today in Delhi. On the eve of the Soviet delegation's departure, our correspondent conducted an interview with S. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations.

[Chikin] The festival movement occupies perhaps the most important place in the structure of international youth movements. What is the disposition of forces now, 1 year before the 13th World Festival?

[Chelnokov] In assessing the role of the festival movement, I would like to start by saying that we have behind us 12 youth forums with a history of over 30 years. This, in my opinion, makes it possible to view it as a serious political phenomenon whose significance extends far beyond the youth sphere proper. Of course, it is not a question of the festival's direct events, which usually last 5-7 days. It is a question of a movement or, to be more precise, the involvement in it of millions of young people, and, most importantly, the involvement in it of the leading political forces of the day. It is to some extent a certain abstraction but not a kind of monolith. The international youth world and its constituent elements are quite a motley phenomenon. Yet the world festival movement exists, and it seems to me that one of its assets is precisely the fact that this phenomenon can effectively be identified with the international progressive democratic youth movement.

The upcoming 13th festival will be innovative in many respects. It is the first festival to be held on Asian soil and in a country belonging to the nonaligned movement. It is quite obvious that times are changing and that the world political situation is also changing. The tasks to be resolved at festivals are also changing. As the organizers of the previous forum, we hope that the 13th World Festival will enable us to take yet another step forward, maybe a small step but a step forward nonetheless, in developing the festival tradition. This will be difficult—difficult because the Moscow festival was a unique phenomenon: a broad, representative festival which surpassed all those that had gone before in terms of size. It will evidently be difficult for our Korean partners to assemble such a representative forum.

[Chikin] Presumably this is linked with the fact that trends have emerged in the festival movement impeding the very fact of holding the festival. What has caused these trends to appear? In this connection, could you talk about the possibility or, more accurately, the danger of an alternative festival being held?

[Chelnokov] Of course, complexities exist. In general, they have always existed, and it is only their nature that is different. It is primarily a question of material and technical difficulties. Take just one detail: You can only get to Pyongyang by air from Moscow, Beijing, and Berlin, and it is easy to imagine that getting the 20,000—and this is the figure quoted us by our Korean partners—participants in the festival to the DPRK is already a problem in itself. There are financial difficulties. Most young people simply cannot afford to travel to the other end of the earth.

Of course, political problems are also cropping up. It would be naive to assume that they do not exist in the international festival movement. There are different conceptions of the historical significance of the movement itself, and its participants' political platforms are different. You encounter communists, social democrats, socialists, liberals, radicals, Christian democrats, believers, nonbelievers, "Greens," and so on here. Naturally, a meeting involving the representatives of such diverse political movements sometimes leads to very tough debates. But in fact, this is the value of a festival where people meet precisely in an attempt if not to change one another's minds—this is sometimes impossible—then at least to understand one another's positions and broaden their own level of thinking.

Politically speaking, we will have to contribute to ensuring that the Pyongyang festival is as representative as the Moscow festival. This is a difficult task because there are quite a few shades of opinion regarding the DPRK in the world. They are linked, for instance, with the fact that this country does not have a very broad network of diplomatic relations, the fact that it is a divided country and is geographically quite a long way from Europe. In short, some people see these factors as an obstacle, but we will look for particular approaches to overcome these difficulties. A second point: Socialist couuntries have always evoked an ambiguous reaction among representatives of the nonsocialist camp. There are forces which sympathize with this system, but there are also those which are overtly hostile. This also applies in full measure to the DPRK. However, it must be noted that Korea is a country with its own historical and national features

in building socialism. This, in turn, also gives rise to the emergence of different positions on the DPRK and clashes over the question of holding the World Festival in Pyongyang.

As for an alternative festival, we still do not have any information as to whether someone is preparing one. But we know from the experience of previous festivals that attempts have been made to organize diversionary actions. I believe that those who are prepared to throw away millions on holding them will realize their futility.

[Chikin] The representatives of youth organizations from virtually the whole world will meet in Delhi on 14 May for the second session of the International Preparatory Committee. What is the significance of this session, and what results do you expect from it?

[Chelnokov] It is a very important session, above all, because there is a year left until the festival, and direct "work on the festival" is now beginning and will not know a minute's respite. The International Preparatory Committee has to agree the main content of the program for the 13th World Festival, since one does not exist at the moment. We will discuss in Delhi for the first time what will happen at the festival. We will also have to form certain leading organs to prepare for it, set up an international solidarity fund, and agree on the venue for the next International Preparatory Committee session.

The International Preparatory Committee is the supreme organ regarding preparations for the festival. All national preparatory committees are represented there on an absolutely equal footing. It is the most important and most prestigious organ, for no one can contest its decisions. Incidentally, these decisions are made on the basis of consensus—unanimity—and, therefore, all International Preparatory Committee decisions must fully encompass the concerns of all national delegations. As you can see, this is not simple, and if the session is scheduled to last 4 days, given the extraordinary nature of the situation, I can add that it will go on for 4 nights also. Nevertheless, there is no reason for us to doubt that this International Preparatory Committee session will resolve its tasks, because, by and large, we know that we have a good store of positive energy provided by the Moscow festival. On the other hand, changes in the international arena which prove that confrontation and mutual rejection of views by no means benefit international cooperation are also a great help. The broadest political forces now have a chance—thanks not least to the new political thinking and the Soviet Union's influence—to find a compromise with greater ease than previously.

Karlov Describes Soviet Role in UNESCO

LD1705212188 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—"The Soviet Union is broadening its involvement in UNESCO programmes. It is undertaking ever more extensive efforts to enhance the efficiency of the entire U.N. system," Yuriy Karlov, member of the UNESCO Executive Board and first deputy chairman of the USSR Commission for UNESCO, told a briefing here today.

A Soviet delegation he will lead will take part in the next session of the organisation's executive board opening in Paris on May 25.

"The Soviet Union is aware of the fact that UNESCO, while experiencing internal difficulties, including financial ones, was somewhat delayed at the start compared to other major international bodies.

"The time lost should be picked up, the more so, for now there are, on the whole, favourable conditions for that."

Dwelling on the agenda of the May session of the UNESCO board, Karlov said that elaborating a programme and documents that would be clear to all was one of the principal tasks of the meeting.

"In the opinion of the Soviet Union," he said, "These programmes should contain problems that worry all of mankind. It is especially important that UNESCO's contribution to resolving scientific and technological problems facilitate humanisation of international relations, strengthening of moral solidarity of mankind and preservation of universal human values.

"We also hope that the forthcoming session will facilitate the search for new, non-standard approaches to the development of world culture."

Karlov dwelt on the problem of the new character of interaction between UNESCO and broad sections of the world scientific and creative intelligentsia.

"The USSR is ready for any specific proposals, for any discussion of problems and ideas. We expect that the session will give a serious impetus to the organisation's programme of work and help create conditions for turning UNESCO into an organisation that meets requirements of the times and profound processes taking pplace around the world.

"It is extremely important that the turn towards specific cooperation away from confrontation that has recently become visible at UNESCO be consolidated. The Soviet delegation will actively work in that direction."

Kashlev Views Expected CSCE Document

PM1805090988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Popov "Topical Interview" in Vienna with Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE meeting and USSR ambassador in Vienna: "Year-Long Discussion"; date of interview not given—first two paragraphs are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The Vienna meeting of the representatives of the 35 states that took part in the CSCE has already been going on for more than 1 year. Although, according to

previous optimistic forecasts, it should have ended several months ago, it is only today, in the opinion of most of the delegations representing the interests of all European countries, the United States, and Canada, that one can say that the meeting has entered the final lap. Work is now under way on the final document.

Our own correspondent in Vienna, Yu. Popov, met up with Yu.V. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting and USSR ambassador, and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Popov] What will be the specific result of the Vienna meeting, and when will it complete its work?

[Kashlev] Hundreds of questions are under discussion at the Vienna meeting, and they will be enshrined in a final document which will run to dozens of pages.

In the military sphere, for instance, we have to come to an agreement, first, to continue the Conference on Security and Confidence-Building Measures involving the 35 states and, second, to hold new talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals with the participation of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

In the economic sphere: It is a question of holding an all-European economic forum where specific questions of trade and scientific-technical cooperation will be examined. We propose extending the practice of setting up joint enterprises and facilitating businessmen's and specialists' activity.

We are discussing the question of holding an all-European scientific forum on the problem of organizing a conference on environmental protection.

In the humanitarian sphere, we are discussing the implementation of such measures as an information forum in Britain on problems of journalists' activity and the use of new technology for information transfer. There is a proposal to set up a European symposium in Krakow to preserve Europe's cultural heritage, since a considerable proportion of it needs to be protected from ruin.

The draft final document contains several clauses concerning the activation of contacts between creative collectives and youth organizations. It is planned—and we insist on this—to expand exchanges of students and schoolchildren.

[Popov] What is the point of the "double standards" practiced by the NATO countries at the Vienna meeting in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation? How do our Western partners react to the processes of democratization under way in Soviet society?

[Kashlev] The situation at the meeting in the humanitarian sphere is most complex. What is slowing down the work? The "double standards" of certain NATO countries, primarily the United States, Britain, and a number of other countries during examination of questions linked with human rights and humanitarian ties. They act on the premise that Western states have resolved these problems once and for all and that they have nothing to change. I can say the following about this: The subject of human rights has indeed never been discussed so actively within the all-European process. There is nothing unnatural about this. We ourselves—the delegations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—acutely raised the question of the need to look into this sphere in order to shift these questions from confrontation to cooperation. We are not afraid and are not evading discussion by acknowledging that we also have human rights problems which, strictly speaking, can also be resolved in the process of democratization and restructuring. At the same time, we say that Western countries must not pretend that everything in their countries has been resolved long since.

Moreover, we propose abandoning the previous confrontational approach to these questions and agree to implement a number of measures on what people here call the "human dimension of the Helsinki process." The Soviet side was the first to propose holding in Moscow a conference to develop humanitarian cooperation involving 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada. The West has hitherto not responded to this proposal.

[Popov] Can you inform your partners in the talks from the United States, Canada, and the European NATO countries of Soviet young people's opinions on specific cases of human rights violations in the West, and advise our readers as to how they can raise particular questions with Western delegations at the Vienna CSCE meeting?

[Kashlev] There are cases where letters come from the Soviet Union to Vienna from Soviet people expressing indignation at the violation of elementary human rights in the West. We inform Western delegations of the opinions of the writers of these letters. Some of them express a desire to talk directly to the representatives of these countries. But many, probably, do not know that the possibility exists. But you can write to a particular delegation at the following address: For instance, British, U.S., or USSR delegation to the Vienna CSCE meeting, Vienna, Austria.

United States & Canada

Senate Continues INF Treaty Ratification Debate

'War of Nerves' Expected

PM1805093388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan: "Greeted With Optimism"]

[Text] Washington, 14 May—Leading members of the U.S. Senate announced today that the results of the Geneva talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz appear to be satisfactory. According to them, it is likely that the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will come up for consideration by the full Senate in the middle of next week. The view was expressed that the upper chamber would make its "advice and consent" to official ratification of the treaty "fit in" with the fourth Soviet-American summit in Moscow.

The legislators' pronouncements followed an hour-long conversation behind closed doors with C. Powell, presidential adviser for national security affairs, and other senior administration representatives. It is reported that Powell, who participated in the Geneva talks, gave a detailed account of the results of the discussions and noted that mutual understanding had been reached.

"At this moment there is more optimism than ever regarding this agreement," Senator J. Warner said after the meeting. Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman S. Nunn noted that he did not expect any "vital" disputes in the future, but he did indicate the possibility of "procedural problems" that could delay voting on the treaty. By the latter the senator meant opposition actions.

Although observers in principle do not doubt the positive outcome of the Senate debate, everyone is predicting a pretty tense "war of nerves," which will also complicate the election campaign.

Korshunov Comments on Debate

LD1705124988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 17 May 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Text] Hello there, comrades! The debates on ratifying the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed in Washington last December, are due to open today in the U.S. Senate.

Robert Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, has announced the decision to pass the discussion of this issue for consideration by the full Senate following consultations with the leadership of the three leading Senate committees: the Foreign Affairs, the Intelligence, and the Armed Forces committees. Members of the committees were acquainted with the results of the recent talks in Geneva between U.S. Secretary Shultz and Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs. Byrd was hopeful that the Senate would be able to complete debates before the forthcoming Moscow summit meeting, although he failed to give any firm guarantees of that.

According to estimates by the Republican and the Democratic leadership of the Senate, 88-90 senators may support the agreement, that is an overwhelming majority. As far as the protocol rules are concerned, in order for a treaty to be ratified, not less than two-thirds of senators must be in favor of it. In the meantime, the majority of people in the United States and in Europe are in favor of the speediest possible ratification of the treaty. Over now to my colleague Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] We will be paying the price of mutual distrust for a long time to come, commented the USSR minister of foreign affairs on the unexpected skidding of the treaty's passage through the U.S. Senate last week. We shall hope that the doubts of the legislators that have arisen are dispersed following the meeting between the foreign affairs ministers of the two countries. The appearance of those doubts made the hearts of opponents of the treaty miss a beat, but the treaty reasserted its vitality in Geneva.

Meanwhile, it seems that what has happened had another positive point about it. By this I mean the reaction of the world to the Senate's decision. It showed again not only the wide scale of support for the treaty, but also the desire to see it come into force as soon as possible and even before the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. The statements by British Prime Minister Thatcher, Italian Foreign Minister Andreotti, and other Western leaders make one absolutely certain about it. That first treaty on real disarmament should be seen not only as an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, said FRG Foreign Minister Genscher to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Brussels. The United States' NATO allies also see it as their own matter.

The motives for West European anxiety over the skidding of the treaty's passage are specific. As the magazine RELATIONS EST-OUEST published in Brussels noted in that connection on 13 May, that treaty opened up a new stage not only in relations between Washington and Moscow, but also between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization, the West and the East. Since the emergence of the North Atlantic alliance, the political thinking which has reigned in the West has been based on a principle regarded as unshakable: One war is over, another one should be prepared for.

Luckily, the situation has changed today. One would think that most Americans think likewise. Referring to recently conducted polls, AP reported that 73 percent of

U.S. citizens were in favor of the treaty. But distrust of the USSR still exists, just as we distrust the West. It would be naive to think that after so many years of confrontation, that could be quickly discarded.

It is not excluded that in displaying such increased vigilance the senators also reflect a public opinion which has been and continues to be reared on the image of an enemy. Some continue to earn political capital on that even today.

Nevertheless, the treaty which is being discussed in the upper house of the U.S. Congress has withstood its first test. But it would be good in all respects if such endurance tests were not staged without any special need for them. Treaties and agreements call for as much care to be taken of them as the positive upshoots in Soviet-U.S. relations, and in East-West relations as a whole.

Reagan Urges Ratification

LD1805055088 Moscow TASS in English 0518 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Washington May 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

President Ronald Reagan on Tuesday hailed the start of debate in the Senate on the U.S.-Soviet Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles, which was signed at the Washington summit last December.

Reagan told a White House news conference that the pact had placed U.S.-Soviet arms discussions on a path "toward real nuclear arms reduction."

The President said he was "both hopeful and confident that after careful consideration, the Senate will agree that this treaty is a diplomatic milestone."

Some observers believe that the news conference, not announced in advance, was meant, besides, to make the Senate act quickly enough to allow Reagan to go to Moscow with a ratified treaty.

Reagan answered a number of questions from attending newsmen.

Israel's Peres Visits U.S., Discusses Mideast

Confers With Shultz

LD1705120288 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Washington May 17 TASS—Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, on a working visit here, met and conferred Monday with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Centerpiece to the talks were the issues of a Middle East settlement and, specifically, the so-called Shultz Plan that envisages the holding of separate Arab-Israeli talks under the screen of an international conference and the granting of truncated automony to the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab lands.

The leading Arab countries have already opposed this plan that runs roughshod over the lawful interests of the Palestinian people. Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir, who stands on extreme right-wing positions, also refuses to embrace it. He is discontent with a mere mention of autonomy for the Palestinians.

According to the available information, Shultz and Peres discussed possible ways to push through the present U.S. initiative in the Arab world. To this end, the U.S. secretary of state will set off for yet another Middle East tour early in June. The newspaper WASHINGTON POST writes today, however, that both sides warned that none of them expected early progress in implementing the American plan.

Holds Talks With Reagan

LD1805005188 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Washington May 18 TASS—President Reagan had a meeting on Tuesday at the White House with Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, now on a private visit in the United States. In a statement on the results of the negotiations, made later, Assistant to the President for Press Relations Marlin Fitzwater said that Ronald Reagan and Shim'on Peres discussed at their meeting the question of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting, problems of bilateral relations and the urgent need for a headway in efforts towards peace in the Middle East.

The Israeli minister was told by the President that upon completion of the Moscow summit meeting U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz would go back to the Middle East and try once again to push through the Reagan administration's plan of regional settlement. In a written statement of the White House it is underlined that the administration views the plan as the only realistic basis for attaining progress on the road towards peace settlement in the Middle East. But even this meagre plan which does not take into account the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people and which is in line with the policy of separate deals, is being blocked up in every way by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. For that reason local news analysts do not expect Shim'on Peres' visit to Washington to lead to any positive development towards settlement of the Middle East problem.

Ends Private Visit

LD1805102888 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Washington May 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev:

Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres has ended his two-day private visit to the United States.

The talks produced no specific results, except further assurances to stick firmly to the "strategic cooperation policy" and to strive for peace in the Middle East.

Peres had many hours of talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, met with American Congress leaders and was received by President Ronald Reagan.

A written statement released by the White House at the end of the Peres-Reagan talks said that President Reagan had stressed the importance of deepening the American-Israeli bilateral relations and promoting effective strategic cooperation between the two countries.

According to the White House, Reagan and Peres discussed the forthcoming Soviet-American summit, issues relating to bilateral relations, as well as the urgent need for peace in the Middle East.

The U.S. President told Peres that after the Moscow summit the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz would travel to the Middle East again to make another try to push through the Reagan administration regional settlement plan. The White House statement emphasized that the administration regarded this plan as the only realistic basis for making progress towards a Middle East peace settlement. But, even U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz told journalists about the widely spread pessimism about the prospects of such a settlement in the region.

The Washington administration's peace plan has met with serious reservations of Israel's Prime Minister Shamir who is opposed to the idea of a Middle East peace conference. But Peres, Shamir's partner in Israel's coalition government, has openly declared his support for Washington's proposals.

Speaking at the annual Arab-Israeli Public Affairs Committee conference on May 16, Peres said that Israel should say no to any proposals suggesting its return to the borders which had existed before 1967. He emphasized that Israel should not back the idea of creating a Palestinian state and the Palestinian Army and claimed once again that separate talks was the best solution to the Middle East conflict.

Vavilov Views Fitzwater's Afghan Statement

LD1705201188 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

[Words indistinct] an official spokesman of the White House, when speaking on a very important issue—a political settlement around Afghanistan, displayed a surprising "forgetfulness". In any case he permitted himself to interpret in a strange way to say the least, the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements.

The contents of Marlin Fitzwater's pronouncements at briefing in the White House show that he obviously "forgot" all about the declaration on international guarantees which U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz signed on behalf of the U.S. Government and in which the United States and the Soviet Union undertake undeviatingly to refrain from interference and intervention in any form in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Prognosticating "replacement of the Kabul regime" by a new government, he stated at the same time that Washington intended firmly to continue to support the "freedom fighters" who, he said, are to form a new government. Who are meant in Washington under "freedom fighters" is well known. It is also clear what kind of "government" Washington counts upon.

The White House spokesman confirmed once again that Washington would continue to supply arms to opposition groups operating in Afghanistan. Large batches of up-to-date American weapons—stinger missile systems, heavy mortars, and recoilless rifles—are being hurriedly supplied to the armed groups. And the "intransigents" act, rejecting all proposals of Kabul to sit down at the negotiating table and to participate in creating wide national coalition in the government, in the parliament, and in all spheres of the country's life. [sentence as received] All that is none other than attempts at hindering the political settlement process, at putting obstacles to cessation of bloodshed and at keeping the seat of tension in Asia for as long as possible.

It appears that Washington does not want to see that the breakthrough in the solution of this regional conflict is a vivid example confirming the possibility of a settlement of conflict situations in other regions—in Central America, in the south of Africa, and in the Middle East.

U.S. Arms Go to Afghan Rebels Via Pakistan

LD1705210588 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] New York May 17 TASS—An unprecedented quantity of weapons, ammunition and military equipment is being sent to frontier areas of Pakistan, where there are camps of armed formations of the opposition. This is reported by the newspaper "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR" today with reference to sources in the forces of the so-called "Afghan resistance", Western diplomats and "other sources".

The armaments include mortars, small arms and missiles including with a range of 20.5 kilometres. According to witnesses, the American newspaper writes, over 40 lorries with such a cargo went every day in the recent weeks

from the town of Parachinar, Paktia Province, to rebel camps. Similar information came from other parts of Pakistan, bordering on Afghanistan.

Leaders of the opposition declare that the weapons would be used in large-scale military operations against the Afghan Government. According to the newspaper, armed formations of the opposition are planning major offensives against governmental structures in Kabul, Jalalabad, Khowst and all provinces of the country.

The United States is one of the main suppliers of weapons, writes the "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR". Over half of the weapons and ammunition is being sent to the extremist Hezb-i Eslami Afghanistan group headed by leader of the so-called "Alliance of Seven" Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, according to the sources used by the American newspapers; Washington is making stake on his group, thereby seeking to influence the political situation in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Yakovlev Receives Visiting U.S. Businessman

LD1705205288 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received George Soros, a prominent representative of the U.S. business community, co-chairman of the Soviet-U.S. joint committee, cultural initiative.

Soros said that the processes of restructuring and democratization in the USSR created most auspicious conditions for increasing international cooperation in all areas, including in the field of culture and education. He informed his interlocutor that the Soviet culture foundation, the Soros Foundation and the Soviet peace fund signed an agreement on setting up a Soviet-U.S. foundation, cultural initiative.

During the conversation the sides touched on the issues of the sweeping economic reform in the USSR, new vistas for cooperation with West's financial and economic communities, the incompatibility of the discriminating trade practices with the spirit of the time and the interests of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Yakovlev welcomes Soros' vigorous activity and wished success in the operation of the Soviet-U.S. foundation.

TASS Cites U.S. Polls on Attitudes to USSR

LD1405172488 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Washington May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

What the Americans think about the Soviet-American relations and their perspectives on the eve of the Moscow summit meeting, about the Soviet Union and the most important objectives in their own country? Answers to these questions are given by the returns published here of the public opinion poll which was carried out jointly by a number of authoritative organisations "feeling the pulse" of the American society: "Daniel Jankelovich Inc." "Public Agenda Foundation", "Market Opinion Research", "Americans Talk Security" and "Martilla and Killey Inc."

The returns of the poll are evidence of a further growth of Mikhail Gorbachev's popularity about whom 76 per cent of the Americans have a highly positive opinion. The policy of glasnost, they say, contributes towards strengthening conviction in the United States that the Soviet-American relations are improving and only an insignificant number of the pollees expressed their disagreement with that.

A considerable number of the pollees declared that the Soviet Union and the United States should develop cooperation in the field of trade and joint outer space research. They expressed confidence that it is precisely such a course, and not the policy of confrontation, that will prevail in Soviet-American relations.

In the opinion of most of the Americans, as a result of the change currently under way in the Soviet Union, the USSR has become a more predictable opponent of the United States, with which it is necessary to conclude agreements. Seventy-seven per cent of the pollees have expressed their approval of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and 82 per cent declared in favour of concluding an agreement on a cut in strategic weapons.

At the same time many Americans (more than 60 per cent of the pollees) claim that "communism threatens America's religious and moral foundations."

An overwhelming majority of the pollees (three to one) believe that the USA should devote more attention to economic problems since economic power and stability are more important than military power so that the country could exert influence on the international situation today.

Reflects Need for Summits

LD1505212588 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] New York May 15 TASS—There should be regular summits of leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. This opinion is held by 78 per cent of Americans polled during a public opinion survey held jointly by the media general and the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency.

The majority of the United States population holds that such meetings should be organized even if no matters of extreme importance for bilateral relations were on the agenda. When President Ronald Reagan gets down to a

negotiating table with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, it will be with the approval of the American people, the ASSOCIATED PRESS points out.

Reagans Receive Soviet, U.S. Schoolchildren
LD1705105488 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Washington May 17 TASS—President Ronald Reagan and Nancy Reagan today met in the East Room of the White House with a large group of Soviet and American schoolchildren who under the programme Children—The Creators of the 21st Century (USSR) and Direct Connection (USA) work to develop better contacts and exchanges between the two countries' youth, to promote confidence and mutual understanding.

On behalf of all children Anya Fadeyeva and Sumico Home presented to Reagan an appeal to the U.S. President and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee adopted at the conference of Soviet, American and Finnish schoolchildren in Helsinki early in May. The appeal expresses support for the efforts by the two countries' leaders to establish constructive relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Addressing the schoolchildren, President Reagan said that he will "read their proposal carefully" as he leaves for Moscow for his next meeting with the general secretary.

Pozner Describes Soviet TV Program on U.S.
LD1705225488 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—A TV serial, prepared by political news analyst Vladimir Pozner, will enable Soviet TV viewers to be face to face with America during five evenings.

"Considering profound interest displayed by the Soviet public in the United States, the shooting group decided to ask Americans the same question that our countrymen most often ask," Vladimir Pozner said at a press conference in Moscow today. "For us it was important to see Americans speaking about themselves, but not journalists which are not always objective".

In February-March this year the Soviet shooting group prepared in Seattle a series of five hour-long telecasts under the title "Meet America". Five groups were made of residents of that American city and each of them was asked one of the questions: "What are your notions of the Soviet Union?" "What are the problems that the American woman is preoccupied with?" "What is the American family?", "What is the position of national minorities in the United States?" The questions could not be put to American military since, Pozner says, contrary to a preliminary agreement, the film shooting group was not allowed to the military McChord [Air Force] base.

The work over the serial was conducted with active assistance of the "King-5" TV station, Vladimir Pozner said. "Americans willingly answered our questions. The overwhelming majority of them, it turned out, are well-disposed to the Soviet people, many of them want to understand the essence of perestroyka which is under way in the USSR. I think that our film will help Soviet TV viewers to have an objective notion of the United States, that some sterotype notions of Americans will be shattered," he said.

Taft Urges Japan To Improve Defense
LD1305220388 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense William Taft now touring countries, the United States' allies, in the East and the West, to compel them to increase their military spending for global military preparations has not bypassed Japan. Arriving in Tokyo, he urged Washington's ally in the Far East to play a greater role in the efforts for "defence" of the Asia-Pacific states for the purpose a whole range of up-to-date weapon systems, aimed at expanding Japan's "perimeter of security" far beyond the 1,000 mile "defence zone" proclaimed by Tokyo. These weapons system include AWACS aircraft, over-the-horizon radars, etc. At the same time, it was suggested that Japan increase support for the U.S. forces stationed on the Japanese territory, coordinate efforts with the United States in the development of the latest military technology, to increase official aid to countries linked with the United States by military agreements, specifically to the Philippines and Turkey, and also to a number of insular states in the southern Pacific. This aid was thus directly linked with the United States' strategic goals.

Traditionally, the Pentagon's emissary "substantiated" these demands to the Japanese leadership by the "growing menace" which is allegedly posed to East Asia by "the Soviet military build-up" and by the need to "oppose it". The Japanese news agency KYODO TSUSHIN notes that Taft did not say what the United States intends to do to alleviate the concern of Japan's neighbours over the fact that the growth of its military expenditures poses threat to that region.

However strange, meeting with Taft these days Japanese officials, despite this concern, responded in a highly positive way to the U.S. demands and even declared that on some of them Japan could take measures in the near future. Such readiness is nothing accidental in view of the budget for the next financial year recently adopted by Japanese parliament. Under the budget, the allocations for "defence" anticipate the Pentagon's demands. It is characteristic that the premise about "Soviet military build-up" and "the growing menace" by the USSR to the region, now advanced by Taft, was used by definite

circles in Japan when the military appropriations were endorsed in parliament. For the second year now they go beyond the limit of one-per cent of the gross national product that had been set earlier.

But this premise is wrong. As an expert of the USSR Defence Ministry said recently, the allegations about the "build-up" of the Soviet armed forces in the Far East made by Tokyo and Washington, mean deliberate misinformation aimed at justifying Japan's build-up of armed forces and the strengthening of its military-political alliance with the United States. Nepal's Foreign Minister Shailendra Kumar Upadhaya said in an interview to the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA recently that pressure is being brought on Japan to compel it to appropriate a larger part of the national income for its "self-defence forces". But the difference between the creation of "self-defence forces" and outright militarisation is slight, and the purpose of these forces is easy to see. This circumstance should be taken into consideration when approaching the problems of Asian security, the Nepalese foreign minister said. This viewpoint is shared with various circles, also official circles, of other Asian countries.

As to the alleged "Soviet menace", moreover its "growth", it is possible to cite many responsible officials of Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and other countries of the region who categorically deny the existence of such a "menace". What is more, if anyone is building up armaments in the area, it is the United States which continues adhering to a militaristic confrontational approach to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and continues large provocative shows of strength in the area. This approach runs counter to the obvious tendenceis in most of the states of the region, to business cooperation, interaction and peaceful solutions of problems. This approach runs counter to the growing awareness of the peoples of those countries, of their responsibility for the destinies of peace in the region and the whole world.

U.S., Greece End Talks on Future of Bases

LD1405093988 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Washington May 11 TASS—The sixth round of the U.S.-Greek talks on the future of the U.S. military bases in the territory of Greece ended in Washington on Friday. The term of the five-year agreement regulating the American military presence in the territory of Greece is due to expire in December this year, yet thus far the sides have failed to reach unanimity on the issue of the terms of prolongation of the treaty.

No statement has been issued upon completion of the talks. Yet the spokesman for the Embassy of Greece in Washington quoted to a TASS correspondent an official participant in the talks as saying that no settlement of the problems had been achieved at the talks. The U.S. State Department refused to disclose any details of the discussions, which have been wound up, by noting that he could say nothing about the talks.

The seventh round of the talks is due to be held in Athens in the first half of June.

Briefs

Aeroflot-Pan Am Joint Venture

New York May 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazrev reports: The first flight, co-sponsored by Aeroflot and the Pan American World Airways under a joint business venture agreement, along the New York-Moscow-New York route began at the J.F. Kennedy International Airport on Saturday, May 14. Such flights will be made by American Boeing-747 airlines three times a week. Besides, another two individual flights will be made between the United States and the Soviet Union under the agreement. As a result, passenger traffic will more than treble. "An agreement in principle on such a joint venture was reached at the historic summit meeting in Washington in December between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States," Vladimir Kurkov, Aeroflot representative in the United States and Canada, told the TASS correspondent. "The first flight on Saturday is one of the results of the summit meeting in Washington and of the intense work to realize the accord reached at it," he emphasized. [Text] [*LD1705021188 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 15 May 88*]

China

Soviet Journalists Meet With Peng Chong

PM1805093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 May—Peng Chong, vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, had a meeting today with a USSR Journalists Union delegation headed by V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Journalists Union Board, and chief editor of PRAVDA, which is visiting here.

Peng Chong spoke about the reform of the economic and political structures being implemented in the PRC and about its tasks and aims. Touching on Soviet-Chinese relations, he pointed out that traditional friendship exists between the two countries. Relations in the economic, cultural, and other spheres have developed in recent years, trade is growing, exchanges of various delegations are expanding, and favorable prospects exist for the development of ties between the two countries' border regions.

The vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee advocated the further expansion of exchanges between Soviet and Chinese journalists. He also noted the existence of obstacles in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Culture Minister Zakharov on Cooperation

OW1805101888 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] According to a Soviet-Chinese agreement on cultural cooperation signed in Beijing, the Bolshoy ballet will perform again in China after a 30-year absence. Soviet Culture Minister Zakharov said that in addition to exchanging performances by art groups and exhibitions, there are plans for creative cooperation in staging plays.

Further Mutual Economic Cooperation Planned

OW1605120288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 May 88

["March Along Friendly and Cooperative Path" program, presented by Sergeyev, on the 35th Anniversary of 15 May 1953 Soviet-Sino Agreement]

[Text] The Sino-Soviet Agreement was signed at the beginning of China's first 5-year plan. According to the agreement, the USSR helped China to construct 141 projects, including metallurgical plants, ferrous metal plants, coal mines, oil refineries, machinery plants, automobile plants, tractor plants, power stations, etc. Those plants built with our country's assistance in 1957 produced nearly half of the national coal and steel output and over 15 percent of the national electricity output.

Li Fuchun, then member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and vice premier, said that it was known to all that the quick completion of China's first national economic development program was inseparable from the assistance provided by the Soviet Union and people's democratic countries, especially that of the Soviet Union. Apparently, the Soviet assistance played an important role in helping us to carry out our construction on such a large scale and at such a speed, to achieve such a high technological standard, and to avoid mistakes.

In 1985, an economic cooperation agreement signed between the Soviet Union and China set a new stage for economic cooperation between the two countries. Under this agreement, our country helped China to build 7 and renovate 17 facilities. They were basic economic facilities, such as energy, ferrous and nonferrous metal, machinery, coal industry, chemistry, and transportation facilities. Those to be renovated included Anshan, Baotou, and Wuhan steel and iron works; Fushun aluminum plant; a copper processing plant in Luoyang; (Xintai) coal concentrating plant; (Jianasi) paper-making mill; and bearing plants.

By now, a series of agreements has been signed for the Soviet Union to supply equipment for projects to be built and renovated.

It should be pointed out that both our country and China want to further pursue our economic cooperation to solve the national economic problems of the two countries.

Soviet Ships To Be Refitted in Heilongjiang

OW1705060688 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] An agreement for repairing Soviet passenger ships at the dockyards of Heilongjiang's Navigation Bureau was signed 14 May in Khabarovsk. Chinese dockyard workers will help to modernize the diesel-engined vessels used by the USSR's Amur River Navigation Bureau. All large diesel passenger vessels of the bureau will be refitted at Chinese dockyards.

Northeast Asia

10 Reported Dead in Cruise Ship Fire at Osaka

LD1805053688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0510 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Tokyo, 18 May (TASS)—A serious fire which broke out on board the Soviet ship "Priamurye" tonight while it was berthed in the Japanese port of Osaka lasted for approximately 10 hours. On board were 295 Soviet tourists participating in a youth cruise around Japan and 129 crew members. As a TASS correspondent has been informed at the USSR's Consulate General in Osaka, the fire began for unknown reasons between 0100 and 0200 local time (between 2000 and 2100 Moscow time on 17 May) as a result of a conflagration in a cabin on the lower level in the central part of the ship. According to preliminary details, 10 persons died and 23 others have been admitted to nearby hospitals with injuries, burns, and smoke inhalation. Rescue workers are carrying out an intensive search for one person who is still considered missing. The passengers and crew have been evacuated from the ship.

The Japanese Sea Safety Administration and the municipal authorities of Osaka have provided great assistance in extinguishing the fire and hospitalizing the victims. Over 30 fire engines took part in fighting the blaze, as well as fire defense boats.

Kalinin Views Taft Statement, Defense Spending

OW1805044288 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 May 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Excerpts] During his recent visit to Japan, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Taft urged the Japanese Government to increase its military spending. Our commentator Kalinin writes:

Taft's call on the Japanese leadership for an increased military budget is nothing new. Similar calls were made in the past and such calls have never been dismissed without a response. One can easily see this by recalling how the Japanese Government in late 1986 decided to remove the 1-percent-of-GNP ceiling on the nation's military spending. [passage omitted]

Japan's leadership vows not to make Japan a military giant. When put in the light of that pledge, Japan's military spending is already way over the required level. Judging from the Taft appeal, however, the U.S. Government apparently does not think so. What is lurking behind Mr Taft's move?

The answer comes from Deputy Defense Secretary Taft himself. In fact, the United States is attempting to make Japan and other allies share the financial burden of its arms buildup to a maximum degree. This is by no means a surprise. THE NEW YORK TIMES notes that the spending of a huge sum of money on arms by the United States is one of the reasons why it has lost economic superiority to Japan and other countries.

Those countries currently under U.S. pressure to increase their military spending are also bound to find themselves in the same plight eventually. The United States is attempting to shift the military budget burden onto its allies, reduce their competitiveness in international markets and, at the same time, spur its own economic recovery. This is one of the major reasons for the U.S. Government's push for Japan's further military buildup.

It is unthinkable that the Japanese Government is unaware of the U.S. scheme. Nevertheless, judging from facts, some Japanese Government leaders seem to be obssessed with the illusion that a greater military role means enhanced international prestige for Japan. This is shown by the fact that Japan, as Taft has stated, has voluntarily responded to U.S. calls ahead of other allies.

No final decision has as yet been made on the Taft proposal. It will be discussed during Defense Secretary Carlucci's visit to Japan, which is scheduled for June.

One may conclude with sufficient evidence that the latest U.S. call for increased military spending is not in Japan's national interest, not only from an economic viewpoint but from that of national security as well; consequences of a military buildup under the present circumstances will be extremely grave. Also, speaking of Japan's international prestige, it will only decline as military spending increases.

Mongolian Friendship Society Jubilee Marked

PM1805090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Society's Jubilee"]

[Text] Fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Mongolia and their close cooperation in various spheres are acquiring ever increasing scale and scope and are being enriched with new forms and content. The activity of the Soviet-Mongolian Friendship Society, whose 30th anniversary was celebrated by public representatives in Moscow on 12 May, is an important element in further deepening friendship between the two countries.

The society's main task is to acquaint Soviet people with Mongolian working people's successes in socialist building, the country's history and culture, and every aspect of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation and Mongolia's domestic and foreign policy, said USSR Cosmonaut V.V. Gorbatko, chairman of the Soviet-Mongolian Friendship Society Central Board.

Ts. Balhajab, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society Central Council, read to the soiree a greeting from the Federation of Mongolian Peace and Friendship Organizations and the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Taking part in the soiree were Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, and a Mongolian public delegation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Thai Prime Minister's Visit

Comparison of Moscow Arrival

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 17 May carries in its Morning Edition on page 1 a TASS report on Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon's arrival at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport on 16 May. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "On an Official Visit", has been compared with the Moscow TASS version published in the 17 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 20, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph two, line five reads in IZVESTIYA: "...foreign minister of the USSR.

"Taking part in the meeting were B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers A.N. Volkov and B.V. Kravtsov; TASS director general S.A. Losev; USSR First Deputy Ministers V.I. Vorontsov and V.P. Trushin; USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev; A.I. Valkov, USSR ambassador to Thailand; and other officials.

"Among the welcoming party were Prachit Rotchanaphruk, Thai ambassador to the USSR, and the heads of the diplomatic missions of Southeast Asian countries accredited to the USSR.

"The state flags of Thailand..." (supplying additional paragraph which lists other officials taking part)

Foreign Ministers Meet

LD1705163388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—A meeting was held today—within the framework of the official visit to the Soviet Union by the Thai Prime Minister—between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, and Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, Thai foreign minister.

Views were exchanged in an open and constructive spirit on some international problems of mutual interest and also on a number of issues of bilateral relations.

Questions of developing the present situation in the Asia-Pacific region were the subject of a comprehensive and specific discussion.

Eduard Shevardnadze reported on the practical steps being taken by the USSR on implementing the initiatives with respect to the Asia-Pacific region put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok and in his replies to the questions of the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA.

Sitthi Sawetsila commented on the poistive influence of the Soviet initiatives on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the activation here of efforts in favor of peace and cooperation.

The situation in this part of Asia was considered from the point of view of seeking ways to achieve a universally acceptable and just settlement of the problems in Southeast Asia. A comparison of both sides' positions on the Cambodian question revealed a mutual striving to ensure that it is resolved exclusively by political means and by the Cambodian people themselves, by way of talks between the interested parties. At the same time, the need was noted to patiently, step by step, reduce the sphere of existing disagreements. In this context, the Soviet side drew attention to the program of national reconciliation put forward by the PRK Government, the implementation of which would facilitate a political settlement of the situation around Cambodia.

The Thai minister expounded his view of the ways to solve the Cambodian problem.

The ministers expressed satisfaction at the forward development of Soviet-Thai relations and confirmed the intention of both sides to continue to facilitate this positive process, including by means of continuing the useful practice of holding consultations between the foreign ministries, placing these on a regular footing, and also activating cooperation within the framework of international organizations and forums.

Ryzhkov, Prem Hold Talks

PM1805091288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 88 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Thai Talks"]

[Text] Talks between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Minister, and Prem Tinsulanon, Thai prime minister, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, took place in the Kremlin on 17 May. Taking part in them were Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and Sitthi Sawetsila, air chief marshal and Thai foreign minister.

In the talks, which took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, questions of Soviet-Thai relations and also topical international problems of mutual interest were examined.

The sides briefed each other on their countries' internal development.

N.I. Ryzhkov spoke of the course of profound transformations in all spheres of Soviet society's life and the resolution of the country's socioeconomic development problems, noting the close relationship between the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and its peace-loving foreign policy course.

P. Tinsulanon spoke of the implementation of Thailand's national programs.

When discussing Soviet-Thai relations, the sides expressed satisfaction at their positive development and confirmed their intention to continue assisting in every way the expansion and strengthening of bilateral ties, guided by the principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

A substantive exchange of views took place regarding ways of further strengthening the base of bilateral cooperation. Having noted the dynamic development of political contacts, the sides spoke in favor of stepping them up, expanding them through new forms, mutually advantageous trade and economic ties, and also exchanges in science, technology, culture, education, and sports.

For these purposes, the productive holding of the first meeting of the Soviet-Thai Mixed Commission on Trade in the second half of this year would be of great importance.

During an exchange of opinions on international questions, Nikolay Ryzhkov informed the Thai premier of the efforts being made by the Soviet Union to reduce tension in the world, to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, and to liquidate nuclear and other types of weapons

of mass destruction. Stressing the important significance of the constructive development of Soviet-U.S. relations for these aims, he spoke of the progress of preparations for the meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States.

The Thai head of government highly appraised the efforts of the Soviet Union to improve the world political climate and to save mankind from the nuclear threat. He welcomed the signing by the USSR and United States of the Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and spoke in favor of further progress toward new agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. This, the Thai head of government stressed, would have a positive influence on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region too.

The similarity of views and approaches of the USSR and Thailand toward questions of halting the nuclear arms race and preventing its spread into space, banning nuclear tests, and eliminating chemical weapons was confirmed. The desire to establish closer interaction by the two countries in resolving these questions was expressed.

Having subjected regional problems to a detailed analysis, the sides called for the soonest possible settlement of conflicts by peaceful, political means. They noted the great importance of the documents on a political settlement around Afghanistan signed in Geneva, which create a positive precedent for unblocking conflicts in other areas of the world.

When discussing the problems of the Asia-Pacific region, the attention of the Thai side was drawn to the concrete steps of the Soviet Union undertaken after the Vladivostok program for ensuring peace, security, and cooperation in this vast part of the planet. The USSR's position in favor of organizing large-scale, equal, and multifaceted cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region was confirmed.

Prem Tinsulanon noted the great importance of the peace-loving Soviet initiatives regarding the Asia-Pacific region, which were first advanced in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok, for improving the political climate in this part of the world.

Reviewing the situation in Southeast Asia, the sides expressed concern with the tension which remains in this region and stressed the need for a political solution to the Cambodian question. The participants in the talks evaluated the start of a dialogue between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk as the first practical step in this direction and called for its continuation.

The Soviet side expressed the view that the continuation of the Laotian-Thai dialogue is essential for the purposes of finding a peaceful solution to the problems between the two countries.

The Soviet side listened to information about the progress achieved by the ASEAN countries and confirmed its willingness to establish a mutually useful and businesslike dialogue with it.

Both sides gave a positive appraisal of the outcome of the talks, and the conviction was expressed that the Thai Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union would become a major step in the development of Soviet-Thai relations and would serve the interests of strengthening peace and improving the international situation in the Asia-Pacific region and in the whole world.

Also taking part in the talks were: on the Soviet side—B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.I. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; and A.I. Valkov, USSR ambassador to Thailand; on the Thai side—Prachuap Suntharangkun, minister of the interior; Michai Ruchuphan, minister attached to the prime minister's office; Arun Phanuphong, minister attached to the prime minister's office; Prasong Sunsiri, general secretary to the prime minister; Kasemsamoson Kasemsi, permanent deputy foreign minister; and Prachit Rotchanaphruk, Thai ambassador to the USSR.

At the end of the talks, Eduard Shevardnadze and Sitthi Sawetsila signed an intergovernmental agreement on bilateral consultations. An agreement between the Governments of the USSR and Thailand on scientific and technical cooperation was also signed.

The Thai head of government had a meeting with students and teaching and professorial personnel at the Diplomatic Academy and Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The guest spoke of the problems of ensuring peace and security in Southeast Asia and came out in favor of adopting constructive measures to resolve regional problems.

The guest visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. He honored the memory of the founder of the world's first socialist state.

Paying tribute to the memory of the Soviet servicemen who fell on the battlefields of the struggle against fascism, Prem Tinsulanon laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze Attend Dinner

LD1705170088 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The Soviet Government has given a dinner in the Kremlin today in honour of Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Together with the guests present at the dinner were the Thai officials accompanying him in the visit.

Present from the Soviet side were Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, and other officials.

Speeches at the dinner were delivered by Nikolay Ryzhkov and Prem Tinsulanon.

The Thai prime minister is currently on an official friendly visit in the USSR. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1636 GMT on 17 May transmits a report on the dinner which notes: "The Thai prime minister is currently on an official visit to the USSR."]

Ryzhkov, Prem Speeches

PM1805120088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Mutual Understanding and Trust"]

[Text] A dinner was given on 17 May in the Great Kremlin Palace on behalf of the USSR Government, in honor of Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

With the guest were Thai officials accompanying him on his trip.

Present on the Soviet side were N.I. Ryzhkov, E.A. Shevardnadze, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, USSR ministers, chairmen of USSR state committees, and other officials.

A speech was delivered at the dinner by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech [subhead]

On behalf of the Soviet Government, he cordially welcomed the Thai prime minister and all the Thai guests present.

I think the visit that began yesterday, N.I. Ryzhkov said, testifies above all to the fact that Soviet-Thai relations are on the whole shaping up favorably, and their positive potential is far from exhausted.

A good basis for their further development is provided by the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. One can only welcome the fact that our countries and peoples value highly the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between them.

What characterizes our relations today? The widening of political contacts, including contacts at a high level. The growth and establishment of multifaceted reciprocal exchanges in the sphere of culture and sport, air and sea transport, and tourism, and between trade union, youth, and other public organizations. Through joint efforts, a quest is under way for promising forms and avenues of trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. Perhaps these exchanges and ties have not taken on the necessary scope everywhere. But things are moving, and we hope that Prime Minister Tinsulanon's visit to the Soviet Union and the Soviet-Thai talks will have a beneficial effect on the state and content of our relations. There is interest in this both on the Soviet side and, as we have seen in the course of the talks, on the side of the Thai Government.

Your visit is taking place at a remarkable time in Soviet society. All spheres of its life and activity are in the grip of profound transformations whose significance for present and future generations cannot be overestimated. In domestic policy, restructuring is radical economic reform, democratization, and the development of glasnost. In foreign policy, it is the stepping up in every way of our efforts to deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear self-destruction.

The new political thinking by which we are guided in international affairs means consideration of the new realities that exist in the world and the opinions and sentiments of the world public, it means a joint quest for a balance of all countries' interests. This is difficult, but it is the only true path to universal security and equal cooperation.

The development of events in the world indicates that the new thinking is forging a path, step by step. A change for the better in the worldwide situation was determined by the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington and the accords reached there. The treaty on the destruction of two classes of nuclear missiles opened up for mankind the path of real nuclear disarmament and the prospect of deep reductions in strategic arsenals.

Today the whole world lives in hope that the new Soviet-American meeting to be held at the end of this month will give a long-term boost to the process of normalization of the political climate and strengthening of security in the world.

We regard as a realistic prospect for the future the conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and American strategic offensive arms on the condition of retaining the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and not withdrawing from it for an agreed period.

Although the leading role in the disarmament process and the main responsibility to mankind for its success rests with the Soviet Union and the United States, it is not, of course, they alone that determine the future of the

world. In our day the significance of each state as an equal participant in international relations has grown immeasurably, and therefore, however far it may be from the nuclear confrontation line, its influence should fully serve mankind's supreme good—the preservation of life on earth.

The Soviet Union pays tribute to Thailand's support for the efforts aimed at achieving universal peace and security and is ready for closer collaboration with your country in the cause of reducing and eliminating the nuclear threat.

The global disarmament process is directly linked with the problem of ensuring security in Asia and the Pacific. The picture here is rather contradictory at present. On the one hand, there are positive trends and substantial shifts in the right direction, and, on the other, conflicts and a dangerous level of military confrontation persist.

Nonetheless we look to the future with optimism. The Asian countries have both good will and considerable experience in developing norms of civilized international intercourse that excludes violence. It is clearly no accident that it was on Asian soil that the celebrated Bandung principles and the Delhi Declaration were born and a number of other peace-loving initiatives and ideas were put forward, ideas which merit the most serious attention and support.

As for the Soviet Union, our concept of general Asian security and cooperation is well known. It was set forth in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok and in his answers to the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA. As the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, we see it as in our interest to pool our efforts and cooperate, in the context of full respect for every people's right to live by their own choice and independently resolve their problems in conditions of peace.

The Soviet Union is prepared persistently to seek solutions that open the way to mutually acceptable accords on key questions of security in the Asian and Pacific region, and to cooperate in the closest possible way with all states that put forward constructive ideas on this score. Confirmation of this is provided by the concrete, practical steps taken by the Soviet Union in this direction in the period of less than 2 years since the Vladivostok program was put forward.

As is known, the Soviet Union agreed to include its intermediate- and shorter-range missiles stationed in the Asian part of the country in the general agreement on eliminating nuclear arms of this type. That was basically the first real step along the path to nuclear disarmament in the Asian and Pacific region.

The USSR was the first nuclear power to adhere to the Rarotonga Treaty, which enshrined the creation of the first nuclear-free zone in that region.

We have declared our readiness to take on a commitment not to increase the number of aircraft carrying nuclear weapons in the Asian part of the USSR, provided that the United States does not deploy additional nuclear systems capable of reaching Soviet territory.

Part of the Soviet troop contingent has been withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic. The process of withdrawal of Soviet Army units from Afghanistan began the day before yesterday, and in fact we withdrew six regiments from that country even earlier.

The Soviet Union intends strictly to fulfill its commitments under the agreements signed in Geneva on the settlement of the Afghanistan situation. Consistent compliance with the terms of these agreements by all other countries and help from the world community in establishing peace and national reconciliation in Afghanistan would set an example for the settlement of other regional conflicts and the elimination of seats of military danger.

The improvement of the general political climate in the Asian and Pacific region would undoubtedly be promoted by the normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia. In the Soviet Union there is understanding and support for the efforts in this direction by the Southeast Asian countries, including the idea they have put forward for creating a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in the region and giving it nuclear-free status.

We share the concern of the Southeast Asian states at the continuing unresolved Cambodian problem. The Soviet Union believes that this problem cannot be resolved through confrontation. It is necessary to seek nonconfrontational approaches on the basis of the vital interests of the Cambodian people, as well as the interests of ensuring security and peaceful, independent development for all the states in the region. In our opinion, some positive elements can be seen in the development of the situation over Cambodia recently. We see their emergence as the result of the growing awareness, especially in Southeast Asia, that this problem can and must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means, by the Cambodian people themselves, by means of talks between all the sides involved in the conflict. This is an encouraging sign that allows us to hope that the region's countries will succeed in finding a solution to the questions relating to Cambodia that will meet the interests of its long-suffering people and the interests of peace and stability in that part of Asia.

This is the aim of the national reconciliation program put forward by the PRK Government. Its merits are that it is genuinely nationwide in nature, does not emphasize factional interests, and protects the country against a return of the genocide regime. Assessing positively the contacts that have begun between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk, we believe that all sides with an interest in a political settlement of the Cambodian problem should promote the development of this process and the transition from armed confrontation to dialogue.

Of course, there are also other problems in Southeast Asia that require resolution. Among them is the situation in the Thai-Lao border region. The Soviet Union, welcoming the good will of the sides, which have agreed to a cease-fire, expresses the hope that Thailand and Laos will take further steps with a view to resolving the disputes that exist between them. We hope that both sides will continue constructive talks on the basis of the principles of equality and in the spirit of the ancient traditions of friendship and good-neighborliness between the two countries' peoples.

A reliable guarantee of the elimination of the military threat and the normalization of the situation in Asia, including Southeast Asia, is the establishment of political dialogue and equal, mutually advantageous cooperation among all the states located here. That is the true path to the establishment of international trust and mutual understanding.

In conclusion allow me to express the hope that your visit, Mr Prime Minister, to the Soviet Union and the signing of important bilateral documents in Moscow will give new impetus to the further progressive development of Soviet-Thai relations. This will undoubtedly serve the interests of our countries' peoples and help to strengthen security and trust in the Asian and Pacific region and elsewhere.

Allow me to wish you, Mr Prime Minister, and all the Thai guests present here good health and success, and to wish your country's people peace and progress.

May the traditional friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand strengthen and develop!

Prem Tinsulanon then delivered a speech.

Prem Tinsunalon's Speech [subhead]

On behalf of the Thai delegation, he said, I express sincere gratitude to the Government and people of the USSR for the warm and cordial reception accorded to us on our arrival in your country. I hope you will find an opportunity to visit Thailand in the future and we will be able to return your hospitality. Allow me to assure you that you will be accorded an equally warm reception in Bangkok. We value the relations between our two countries, which have a long history, more than a century. We also understand the important role that the Soviet Union plays in the international arena.

There was a period in history when Russia came to Thailand's assistance, preventing the expansion of colonialism. The Thai people remember well this manifestation of friendliness by Russia. That is, however, an event of years gone by.

My present visit to the Soviet Union was dictated by concern for the present, by the desire to reveal opportunities and means of bilateral cooperation for the future, so that Thailand and the USSR can continue to act in the spirit of mutual advantage, for the sake of peace and progress throughout the world.

I also represent Thailand as a developing Third World country that has a high rate of economic growth and shows readiness for economic cooperation with other states. There are therefore representatives of the private sector in the delegation which I head.

In the last 2 or 3 years, relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand have risen to a new level. Interstate contacts have widened considerably. There have been exchanges of delegations in various spheres: culture, sport, and trade. All this testifies to the two sides' desire to establish mutual understanding, which is the basis for the further development of relations. I am glad that an agreement on bilateral consultations is to be signed during the present visit.

Thailand is a member of ASEAN. The significance of this association is constantly growing, it is an important part of the Asian and Pacific region, which is gradually becoming a new center of the world economy. The ASEAN countries, rich in natural resources and with a high rate of economic growth and political influence, are arousing ever more interest among the international community.

We understand well that for historical reasons the emphasis in Soviet foreign policy was on European affairs in the past. But General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech demonstrated that the USSR's attention toward the Asian and Pacific region has now increased considerably. Only recently the Soviet National Committee for Asian and Pacific Economic Cooperation was set up with a view to expanding economic collaboration with Asian and Pacific states. This is new evidence of your constructive approach to the region.

We believe that the Soviet Union, as an integral part of the Asian and Pacific region, has legitimate rights, equally with other countries, to participate in the affairs of that part of the globe and contribute to its progress and prosperity. We think one essential condition of success for the policy of glasnost and restructuring pursued by General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev is a peaceful international situation, and therefore this policy, in turn, exerts a positive influence both on the world situation as a whole and in the Asian and Pacific region.

The Soviet-American summit meeting is to be held soon. We support the efforts made during the last meeting of the Soviet and U.S. leaders to seek ways of ensuring universal peace, first and foremost the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This step by the great powers promoted the attainment of a new level of security for mankind. The present opportunity must be used to make peace even more lasting.

Of course, peace throughout the world also depends on what significance we attach to the resolution of regional problems. Because if you ignore them, these problems could grow into global contradictions. In this connection we express satisfaction that the USSR is playing the main role in resolving the Afghanistan problem. We value highly the Soviet Union's sincerity, manifested in its decision on the schedule for withdrawing its troops from that country.

The resolution of the Afghan problem will not only help to strengthen peace throughout the world, it will also give impetus to the settlement of the Cambodian question by political means. On this issue Thailand, like the other ASEAN countries, pursues one goal—lasting peace. But lasting peace in Cambodia can be achieved only on condition that the interested parties respect each other's security interests and are able to achieve a balance of those interests. In other words, Cambodia must be neutral and not represent a threat to its neighbors. A settlement must also be secured by international guarantees, including guarantees by the permanent members of the UN Security Council. That can only happen when the Vietnamese troops are entirely withdrawn from Cambodia and that country's people can enjoy their right to self-determination. A constructive contribution by the USSR to the cause of restoring lasting peace in Cambodia will meet with a positive response in the ASEAN countries and open up opportunities for expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In conclusion the guest wished N.I. Ryzhkov health, prosperity, and success, and proposed a toast to friendship between our countries and peoples.

The speeches of N.I. Ryzhkov and Prem Tinsulanon were greeted with applause.

The dinner took place in a friendly atmosphere.

AFP Reports Prem Speech

AU1705111288 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 17 (AFP)—Thailand's Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon Tuesday renewed an appeal to the Soviet Union to make a constructive contribution to the search for a "realistic peace" in Cambodia. The Prime Minister made his comments in a speech at a dinner hosted by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

"What Thailand and other ASEAN countries seek with respect to Kampuchea is simple: a realistic peace," he said. Mr. Prem explained that Cambodia could become a neutral country if Vietnamese troops were withdrawn "and the Kampuchean people allowed to exercise their right of self-determination."

"In this connection, the Soviet Government's constructive contributions to the process of bringing realistic peace to Kampuchea will undoubtedly enhance the reservoirs of goodwill of the ASEAN countries towards the Soviet Union," which would lead to enhanced cooperation with Moscow, he said.

Mr. Prem stressed that Thailand had always considered the Soviet Union "as a member of the Asian-Pacific region, having as much legitimacy as other members to participate in this region's affairs and to share in its progress and prosperity."

In a speech earlier Tuesday, the prime minister, making his first official visit to the Soviet Union, called on Moscow to play a constructive role in a Cambodian solution. Mr. Prem arrived here Monday on a six-day visit to the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Receives Prem

LD1805105688 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev received here today the prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, Prem Tinsulanon.

The head of the Thai Government is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

Commentary on Visit

BK1705105888 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 16 May 88

[Station Commentary]

[Text] Soviet-Thai relations cannot be said to be active all the time. Bilateral relations stagnated for a long time for several reasons. One thing slowing down relations has been the lopsided policy adopted by Thai authorities, which is partly responsible for inaccurate impressions of one another, influenced by external factors. Regardless, there have been signs lately indicating change for the better.

THE BANGKOK POST, an influential Thai newspaper, in reviewing Soviet-Thai relations during the past year notes that an impetus for improved Soviet-Thai relations was the new political approach expounded by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. That is, we would like to clarify, the Soviet proposal for the Asian and Pacific region to join the movement to promote international security. The program put forth in Vladivostok is large in scope and in detail. A major objective of it is to promote regional cooperation for the benefit of peace and security.

The Vladivostok program has been highly thought of in Thailand, according to the Thai foreign minister, Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, who officially visited the

Soviet Union last year. He also emphasized the need to promote mutual trust as the foundation for constructive cooperation among nations in the region.

The good beginning in Soviet-Thai political contacts is being followed up by the current visit to the Soviet Union by Thai Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon. The major issues to be discussed include factors and resources to promote bilateral trade and economic cooperation. It is noteworthy that many businessmen are accompanying the Thai prime minister's delegation to Moscow. According to a report from Bangkok, those people wish to look into the possibility of expanding long-term economic cooperation and diversifying imports and exports, as the current level of trade between the two countries is still unsatisfactory. The Soviet Union accounts for only 1 percent of Thailand's foreign trade.

Anyway, taking into consideration the positive side of relations and preliminary results of the Soviet economic reforms, it is certain that the chances and opportunities which have been discarded can still be tapped. Thai businessmen, for instance, proposed setting up a joint investment company and expressed interest in Soviet machines and industrial products in exchange for corn, sugar, canned food, textiles, and other products from Thailand. Several Thai businessmen believed that, with stronger competition for markets and growing trade protectionism from Western countries, an expansion of trade with the Soviet Union would help Thailand's economy.

Certainly, it is difficult to expect all existing problems in Soviet-Thai relations to be tackled during the current visit to the Soviet Union by His Excellency Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon. However, a basic agreement resulting from political discussions concerning major world issues is enough to project a positive trend in future relations between the two countries. The Soviet Union therefore joins His Excellency General Prem Tinsulanon in wishing that the current visit by his excellency will serve as a further impetus for progress in Thai-Soviet relations.

Near East & South Asia

First Motor Rifle Unit Arrives From Afghanistan

Najibullah's 'Gratitude' Reported

LD1705133388 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 17 TASS—The national reconciliation policy, proclaimed in Afghanistan a year and a half ago to put an end to bloodshed and achieve peace and calm in the country, has won the hearts of Afghans in spite of all the difficulties, President Najibullah of Afghanistan said here.

Speaking on the occasion of a Muslim holiday, he added: "Time will come when the sun of peace shines even more brightly over our fatherland."

The Afghan people, Najibullah declared, would never forget the Soviet internationalist troops who had helped them protect the independence, freedom and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

"The memories of their fortitude and valor will forever remain in the hearts of the Afghans and will be passed on from generation to generation," the president said.

On behalf of his compatriots he expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet internationalist troops, all Soviet people and the Soviet leadership for their all-round backing for the people of Afghanistan.

"The Geneva agreements have opened clear prospects for an enduring peace in the region. The most crucial thing now is to fulfil the Geneva accords in good faith.

"As far as the Afghan side is concerned, it is honoring its obligations to the point," Najibullah emphasized.

In conclusion he made another call for his compatriots still staying abroad to return home.

Rebel Shellings Condemned

LD1705200588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Petrova] What words can describe this medieval barbarity and refined cynicism? [video shows ruined houses, maimed bodies, children in hospital, weeping women, bandaged limbs, baby's feeding bottle amid wrecked household, crowds at cemetery burying dead] People are dying not on the battlefield, but in their homes, in quiet apartments, without any harbingers of misfortune.

Can all this really be forgiven and forgotten? For these pictures are the history of a people's sufferings, indictments which should bear witness at an international court. Now, when the Geneva accords have come into force, when our country has kept its word and started to withdraw its troops from this country, when the Afghans are waiting with hope for peace, the so-called irreconciliables are continuing the war. They have declared that they do not recognize these documents, are doing away with the UN observers, and carrying out reprisals against the people of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Just 3 days have elapsed since 15 May, and shellings, sabotage, and explosions are coming one after the other. None of the inhabitants of Kabul thought, surely, of the imminent grief. In the evenings, when people were coming home from work, the women were busy with housework and children were playing in the yard in front

of the windows. Then explosions rang out. Every day the country is burying its citizens, the victims of terror. Rumors are circulating around the town, each more absurd than the other. They are intended to frighten people and keep them in fear, to paralyze their will. Every day President Najibullah speaks to the people. People believe in him and hope for peace. Surely it is all mankind's duty to help them.

'No Delays' at Salang Pass

PM1705180488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, and Major N. Burbyga: "The Border Is Close at Hand"]

[Text] Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif, Tashqorghan, 17 May—A group of officers under the leadership of Colonel N. Churkin is at work at the headquarters of our limited contingent of troops. Its task is to protect the movement of the columns leaving for the motherland and to provide cover for them. The group operates round the clock, maintaining constant contact with "Bronze" and "Badger"—those are the call signs of Colonel Yu. Starov, commander of a motorized infantry unit, and Lieutenant Colonel V. Giluch, commander of the advance detachment, moving homeward from Jalalabad.

Col Churkin's subordinates show us the reports of a unit commander and commanding officers of the guard posts and outposts. Here is one of them: "16 May. 1340 hours. From the Dahan-e Now region, extremists fired 46 surface-to-surface missiles at the road near Dakow-ye Bala. The column escaped the shelling without losses. A retaliatory artillery strike was carried out against the rebels' firing positions...."

Duty signals officer Senior Lieutenant E. Gadelshin invites us to the radio. On the line is our correspondent who has reached Tashqorghan together with foreign journalists. It is only 73 km from that city to the USSR state border. This will be the last stop on Afghan soil for the armored column of Soviet troops returning home.

"The entire population of Tashqorghan, a district center in the northern province of Samangan, is now on the road," we are told. "They have come out with flags and flowers to greet the Soviet column, which is due to appear any time now in the city streets. Abdul Zurani, a 60-year-old inhabitant of Tashqorghan, said: 'I have come out with my grandson to see off our friends. The Soviet servicemen have always helped us. Ask any peasant and he will show you the bridges they built, the road they repaired. We know many of them by name. Zhelezov, for instance. That officer and his men did much for our city....'"

That is what many of the inhabitants of Tashqorghan say and think. On this day kind words about Soviet servicemen could be heard not only from the inhabitants of that city. The Afghan border guards who are now awaiting our column in the region of Hayraton on the bridge over the Amu-Darya said the same.

...The column has arrived. Colonel Starov, commander of the motorized infantry unit, reports to headquarters by radio. We talk with him.

"The march by the mountain roads was difficult," Yuriy Timofeyevich says. "The Salang Pass, with its concealed bends and steep precipices, is enough in itself. But the combat vehicles did the steep climbs with no delays."

"We know that the column twice came under fire. Please tell us about it."

"After the column left Kabul, the covering detachment commanded by Captain Yuriy Maltsev silenced the extremists' firing positions fairly rapidly. Nor did they succeed in hitting the column with missiles, although an attempt was made near the village of Dakow-ye Bala."

"Yuriy Timofeyevich, Western radio stations are now claiming that the first Soviet column is 'fighting its way through to the border.'"

"That is all fairy tales. An attempt to pass off wishes as reality. I wonder what the foreign journalists who are closely watching the Soviet troops' withdrawal will say about it? Many of them moved with us in the column from Jalalabad to Kabul, and they all saw for themselves. Krestin Gustafsson, a charming journalist from Sweden, was pleased with her trip through the high, winding roads of Afghanistan. She is only upset about one thing: On the march her camouflage panama hat—a gift from our soldiers—blew away. And that was probably the only 'loss' on the march."

Our time on the air is up—it is time to say goodbye. We ask Colonel Starov to convey the most cordial congratulations to the motorized infantrymen from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers, and wishes for a good journey home—they are awaited impatiently there. When this issue of the newspaper comes out, the column of motorized infantrymen will have crossed the Amu-Darya and will be in the homeland....

Troops Shelled En Route

LD1705194388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a report we have just received: The first unit of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, which is on its way home, is moving toward the Afghan-Soviet border.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy] The column left Kabul about an hour ago. There are still a lot of flowers on the vehicles. We still remember the

touching send-off scenes. But you can see what is happening on the road. An attempt was made here to attack the Soviet column. Of course, lethal firing rang out immediately from the guards to force the enemy to break off its attack; nevertheless, several rocket propelled grenades exploded next to the road. The column continues its advance. Fortunately, that was the only combat episode. [video shows Leshchinskiy sitting in an armored vehicle; two soldiers with guns are visible sitting behind him on the look out. Other vehicles roll past. An unidentified object is seen burning off the side of the road]

But there have been many roadside greetings, words of gratitude, and warm wishes for the journey in the towns and in the roadside villages. [Words indistinct] obelisk, eternal memory, and eternal glory.

The Salang Pass: Nearly 4,000 meters above sea level. This is what our boys are thinking of when they say: The motherland is just over the mountain. It was difficult for the mechanics and drivers on the steep approach roads, in the dark tunnels, over vertiginous drops. But toward sunset the column arrived complete at its next night resting place. And there, as they say, the rear services [word indistinct]. They brought fuel and water right into the field, and prepared a hot dinner. [video shows mountainous roads, dark tunnels; hot dinners being served, then cuts to Leshchinskiy speaking to a group of soldiers]

[Words indistinct] and again we are sleeping under the open sky, but this is the last night on Afghan soil. Your service here is coming to an end. You all certainly [words indistinct] your homes, (?your family is expecting you). But do you think your service here, the years you have spent here, will help you?

[Unidentified soldier] Definitely. Everyone, well, not everyone—I personally think that I did not spend these 2 years in vain. I understood a lot of things; I experienced a lot of things, which perhaps I would not have done in the Soviet Union.

[Leshchinskiy] (?You) were even wounded; you were given a medal for courage.

[Soldier] Yes. I was at my work place, servicing the vehicle when we were being shelled.

[Leshchinskiy] In the Army the work place (?is where you are shelled), especially in Afghanistan. Well, have a good journey home, and I hope that the last day's stage tomorrow is as successful as today's and yesterday's.

[Soldiers] Thank you. [end recording]

Border Town Welcomes Unit

LD1805084888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 18 May 88

[Excerpt] A meeting is in progress in the border town of Termez at this moment. Its participants are welcoming the first motor rifle unit from the limited contingent of Soviet troops to return from Afghanistan. Vladimir Bezyayev, our special correspondent, reports from Termez:

[Bezyayev] Dust-covered armored troop carriers [word indistinct] in parade formation; and in front of them internationalist soldiers have formed up with [word indistinct] combat banners, all wearing medals and orders; and virtually the whole town of Termez has come out to meet the servicemen here on the Soviet-Afghan border. The meeting has already begun here. Delegations from all of our Central Asian republics and a large group of Afghan comrades, led by the defense minister, Colonel General Rafi' [rank as heard], have come here. The meeting is in progress; everybody is already on the tribune.

We managed to have a talk before the start of the meeting with Kawiani, Politburo member, and PDPA Central Committee secretary. He said: We, the Afghan people, thank the Soviet servicemen, who have fulfilled their internationalist duty. When the storm clouds thickened over our homeland, the Soviet people came to our aid. We shall never forget this. This is a curious detail: when the motor rifle column left Jalalabad on 15 May, all the inhabitants of the town gathered up in the street and saw their Soviet friends off with flowers. This is what our Afghan guest said.

Now, since the servicemen are still in parade formation, I want to acquaint you with one who returned a little bit earlier. He is Major Gorayev. Here is something interesting: He left from Termez, and is returning to Termez. Please, what are your feelings when you meet your comrades-in-arms?

[Gorayev] The address of the CPSU Central Committee to the internationalist servicemen spoke well of how our units' soldiers fulfilled their internationalist duty in rendering assistance to the Afghan people. Now, meeting our dear comrades here, at this place, I remember how, 9 years ago, in December 1979, we left this place to provide assistance to the Afghan people. [passage omitted]

Refugees Return From Iran

LD1805123388 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 18 TASS—On Tuesday 135 Afghans returned from Iran into Herat Province.

In accordance with the provisions of the Geneva accords, the Afghan Government gives much help to the returnees. The State Committee for Labour and Social Issues found jobs for 22,000 Afghans from among former refugees in the past Afghan year (March 1987-March 1988). All of them received jobs at industrial projects and state enterprises in different provinces.

The influx of Afghan citizens, who decided to return home from abroad in connection with the policy of national reconciliation currently under way in the country, has considerably increased of late. In this connection the Ministry of Civil Aviation of Afghanistan has decided to allocate daily additional 560 boarding seats on domestic routes to carry refugees from the border areas to Kabul and the provinces Faryab, Nimroz, Herat, Farah and Qandahar. Afghanistan's State Committee for the Affairs of the Returnees paid the Ministry of Civil Aviation 50 million afghanis for the purpose.

Egyptian Reaction to Afghan Pullout Assessed

PM1805082988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by own correspondent V. Belyakov: "New Hopes"]

[Text] Cairo, 13 May—One of the most popular subjects for political discussion in Egypt these days is the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. The signing of the Geneva agreements and the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country set for 15 May have considerably increased local politicians' interest in the matter.

As already reported, the Egyptian leadership has positively appraised the Geneva agreements. Opposite views can also be found in the Egyptian press, however—pro-government publications included. As a rule, they reflect the viewpoint of the very numerous influential political circles here which, proceeding from their own class interests, have taken the side of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries from the very outset. With their positions also secure in many other Arab states, these circles have succeeded to a considerable extent in disorienting the public concerning the motives for introducing the limited Soviet troop contingent into Afghanistan and in using the Afghan problem as a brake on the development of Soviet-Arab relations. The implementation of the Geneva agreements has deprived them of one of their biggest trump cards.

There is a factor making it quite impossible to diminish the importance of the process of settling the situation surrounding Afghanistan. The point is this. Egypt is adversely affected by such long-standing conflicts as the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Iran-Iraq war. Many local observers consider the Geneva agreements through the prism of prospects for eliminating these conflicts. B. Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, made a statement quite recently noting that these agreements contribute to creating an international atmosphere conducive to the settlement of regional conflicts, primarily the conflict in the Near East.

Egypt's Foreign Minister Lauds Soviet Aid

PM1805092988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Belyakov: "Developing Relations"]

[Text] Cairo, 16 May—'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, has pointed to the ongoing nature of the development of Egyptian-Soviet relations in recent years and to the reassuring prospects for their further strengthening. He declared in an interview with representatives of the Soviet mass media that the Egyptian people are very grateful to the USSR for the assistance given them during the years following the victory of the 1952 revolution. He described as inestimable our country's contribution to the development of Egypt's national industry. The minister said that his upcoming visit to the USSR and his talks with the Soviet leaders will make it possible to discuss questions of mutual interest.

We value highly the Soviet leadership's efforts to strengthen peace, mutual trust, and cooperation among the peoples, 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid continued. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been greeted with approval in Egypt. It is obvious that all the world's peoples have profited by that step.

Egypt's foreign policy, the minister pointed out, is aimed at ensuring peace, stability, and development. Egypt advocates convening an international conference on the Near East with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The Soviet Union is called upon to play an important role in the process of a Near East settlement. 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid gave a high assessment of the Soviet Union's immutable support for the Palestinian people's interests.

Pakistan's Noorani Leaves Moscow for Home

LD1705204488 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, Zain Noorani, left Moscow for home today.

He visited the Soviet Union as a guest of the USSR Government.

Changes in Iranian Forces Hierarchy Viewed

NC1805071088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 16 May 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Changes have been made in the hierarchy of the Iranian Armed Forces General Staff. Brigadier General 'Ali Shahbazi was appointed chief of the General Staff, replacing Brigadier General Esma'il Sohrabi, who has been appointed to the position of observer in the Supreme Defense Council.

What is the reason behind these changes? Various views have been offered. Some believe that this reshuffling is due to the ineffective planning of military operations by the former chief of staff. They consider it probable that the mistakes in planning led to the recent defeat of the Iranian forces in the Al-Faw peninsula. Also, a lack of (?caution) led to the destruction of two Iranian warships in battles with U.S. naval-military forces in the Persian Gulf.

(?Other views) have also been propounded. Some believe that the former chief of the General Staff (?was a victim) of the differences between the Armed Forces and the powerful IRGC [Islamic Revolution Guards Corps]. There has been increasing dissatisfaction in the army for some time now, stemming from the existence of the hand-picked IRGC. This is because the Revolution Guards enjoy spectacular benefits and privileges while the major burden of the war operations (?and its heavy damages and casualties) is shouldered by the [word indistinct] army personnel. It is possible that because of these factors, Esma'il Sohrabi was not very enthusiastic about the coordination of the activities of the Armed Forces and the IRGC, which (?ruling clergymen) are calling for.

Of course, these changes in the command of the Iranian Armed Forces are a domestic affair. However, special attention is attached to it from outside Iran as well. Those concerned with the dangerous exacerbation of incidents in the Persian Gulf hope to find signs in these changes of a new policy in the Iranian leadership, toward the termination of war operations and practical steps aimed at implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598.

The long bloodshed between Iran and Iraq should be stopped. Of course, hopes and aspirations cannot replace realities. Many (?believed) that the former leadership of the General Staff was only the shield [words indistinct]. However, Iranian officials present at the ceremony in which Brigadier General Shahbazi was appointed to his new post issued calls to employ all of the country's potential to meet the needs of the war. [Words indistinct] have still not lost the hope of achieving a victory over Iraq, with the assistance of skillful military leaders and by inflicting a so-called destiny-making attack. How many such attacks have taken place in the past? The military operations have been concentrated mainly along the Iran-Iraq border. Of course, [words indistinct] in the other parts of the country. The outburst of the cities war only brought about death and destruction for the residents of Tehran, Esfahan, Baghdad, and Basra. In the tankers war, both countries have suffered heavy damage to their oil production capabilities. This war has also (?hindered) international navigation in the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown sufficiently and convincingly the failure of the strategy of solving conflicts through war. (?The only way) to emerge from a military impasse is to display new thought aimed at a cease-fire and the solution of conflicts through political means.

'Terrorists' Stage Attacks in Sudanese Capital

PM1805100588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Sudan: Terrorist Acts"]

[Text] Khartoum, 16 May—Seven people were killed and many injured as a result of an armed attack on the "Acropole" Hotel in the center of the Sudanese capital on Sunday. According to a local radio report, a group of unidentified persons hurled grenades into the hotel restaurant where a large number of foreigners was present. Then the terrorists opened fire on the guests with machineguns. Those killed include two children and a woman.

Almost simultaneously, a group of terrorists carried out an attack on the building of the "Sudanese Club," where foreign citizens were also present. One person was wounded during the incident.

The police detained one person suspected of complicity in the terrorist acts. During the arrest a machinegun was confiscated.

YAR's Al-Attar Holds Talks in Moscow

Arrives 14 May

JN1505133688 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Brother Dr Muhammad Sa'id al-'Attar, deputy prime minister, minister of development, head of the Central Organ of Planning, and Standing Committee member, arrived in Moscow last night. He is leading an economic, technical, and organizational delegation from the state's executive apparatus and the General People's Congress on a working visit to the Soviet Union lasting several days.

Receiving Al-'Attar were (Veyojiko), first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; (Ofatshuki), deputy minister of foreign economic relations [titles as heard]; a number of officials in the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the

USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; officials from the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee; and Brother 'Abd al-'Uthman, YAR ambassador in Moscow.

Meets Dobrynin

PM1805100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] On 16 May, A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with M.S. al-'Attar, deputy prime minister and member of the Standing Committee of the General People's Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR]. Topical questions of the contemporary international situation and of Soviet-North Yemeni relations were touched upon during the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere.

Participating in the talks were, on the Soviet side, K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and on the North Yemeni side: A.M. al-Asbahi, executive secretary of the YAR General People's Congress; and M. al-Junayd, manager of the YAR National Bank. Present at the meeting were V.V. Popov, USSR ambassador to the YAR; and 'A.'U. Muhammad, YAR ambassador to the USSR.

PDRY Culture Minister Holds Talks in Moscow

LD1305214388 Aden ANA in Arabic 1145 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 May (ANA)—A Soviet delegation will come to Aden toward the end of this month to discuss Soviet assistance in the field of radio and television. This was disclosed during a meeting which took place yesterday evening in Moscow between Comrade Dr Muhammad Ahmad Jarhum, member of the Central Committee and minister for culture and information, and Comrade Baryakhin [name as received], deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. Relations between the two friendly countries in the field of television and radio broadcasting were reviewed during the meeting.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Urnov Received by Zambian President

LD1605063388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Lusaka, 16 May (TASS)—Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), has received here the special representative of the Soviet leadership, A. Urnov, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

During their conversation, an exchange of opinions took place on a number of topical international problems. Particular attention was devoted to matters connected with the coming into force of the Geneva agreements on a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, as well as the situation in southern Africa.

K. Kaunda noted the historic significance of the Geneva agreements, placed a high assessment on the Soviet Union's contribution to reaching them, and spoke in favor of the strict observance by all sides of the pledges they have made.

The Zambian president stressed that the restructuring being implemented in the USSR and the Soviet Union's dynamic, peace-loving foreign policy are having a favorable influence on the situation in the world, as well as opening up the way toward disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, and the strengthening of international security.

Friendship Agreement Signed With Zimbabwe

PM1305100788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Anxious to promote the further development and consolidation of ties between the peoples of the USSR and Zimbabwe, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the Soviet Association for Friendship With African Peoples, and the preparatory committee for creating a Zimbabwe-Soviet friendship association have signed a cooperation agreement in Moscow. The first point of the document provides for the two sides' mutual institution of partnered public organizations. Their task is to familiarize the peoples of the two countries with their lives, histories, cultures, and achievements in various fields.

D. Mudekunye, Zimbabwe charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR, took part in the signing ceremony.

Angolan Official Rules Out Talks With UNITA

LD1305110188 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The Government of the Republic of Angola will not sit down to the negotiating table with the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leaders, Pedro Kivila, charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of Angola to the USSR, said here. "There is no civil war in our country, contrary to the allegations made in the West," he told a press conference. "Angola is a target of armed aggression by the foreign powers, which are continuing interference in her home affairs."

The Western countries, the charge d'affaires continued, wish to force Jonas Savimbi, chief of the puppet UNITA gangs, on the legitimate government of the People's

Republic of Angola as a person entitled to negotiate the creation of peaceful conditions in Angola. Yet neither him, nor the group headed by him are entitled to represent the vital interests of the Angolan people.

Touching upon the question of the Cuban internationalists staying in Angola, Pedro Kivila said that their presence is "due to the need to defend Angola's sovereignty." The causes which made the Republic to turn for military aid to Cuba in 1975 have not been eliminated so far. Despite that, the Angolan Government motivated by the wish to contribute towards peace in the region, tabled in 1986 the proposal on concluding an all-embracing treaty and expressed preparedness to reduce the terms for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops staying in the south of Angola from 36 to 24 months. Yet the governments of the United States and the RSA have disregarded these proposals. Moreover, Washington has contributed in a large measure to the escalation of the RSA's aggression in the region and broad involvement of the puppet UNITA gangs into hostilities against Angola. "All this took place when all the conditions were created for the normal course of talks between Angola and the USA," Pedro Kivila said.

In conclusion the charge d'affaires stressed that it is impossible to achieve a settlement of the conflict in the southern African region by force of arms. "Angola considers non-alignment and peaceful coexistence to be the basis of its foreign policy and is prepared to establish political, economic and diplomatic relations with all countries of the world, which respect its territorial integrity and independence," Pedro Kivila said.

Angola's Kivila Says RSA Accord 'Possible'

PM1605113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Portanskiy report: "Angola-RSA: An Accord Can Be Reached"]

[Text] At international forums the Government of Angola has repeatedly advanced initiatives for a political solution to questions with regard to establishing peace in southern Africa and, in particular, in Angola, Pedro Kivila, Angolan charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, declared at a news conference in Moscow. It is impossible to solve the region's problem by military means.

P. Kivila recalled that his country's people and government consider the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435, the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of RSA troops from Angolan territory, and also the cessation of all external military aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] grouping to be indispensable conditions for any future talks on settling the conflict.

It was pointed out at the news conference that the recent London meeting of representatives of Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States was of positive significance. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola is ready to continue displaying flexibility in the search for ways to settle the conflict in the region. At the same time, the desire of certain powers to bring together the legitimate government of Angola and the UNITA puppets around a negotiating table in the future does not meet with a response from the Angolan Government.

The proposals of Angola and Cuba, which are well known to everyone, are realistic and flexible, P. Kivila emphasized. It is possible to reach an accord in the region in the very near future if the RSA displays goodwill. It is now up to the RSA to take positive steps.

Angolan President Cited on Cuban Troops

LD1705130088 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Luanda May 17 TASS—The aggressive policy pursued by the racist Republic of South Africa in southern Africa, the very existence of the apartheid regime are the root causes of all problems of the region, President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of the Republic of Angola said in an interview with the ANGOLAN NEWS AGENCY and the PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY.

He emphasized that the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) steers a realistic and flexible peaceful policy.

"Your government agrees in principle to the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angolan territory as soon as all causes that precipitated their maintenance there are removed," the president said.

"The Cuban internationalists are based in Angola at the request of our government under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter," Dos Santos noted.

"Their stay in the PRA does not have any relation to the granting of independence to Namibia under U.N. Security Council Resolution 435. Therefore, the policy of 'linking' the decolonization of Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cubans, which was devised by the U.S. Administration, does not have a legal basis. It is a ploy used by South African racists to evade compliance with the decision of the international community."

The head of state said that the PRA always felt the political and moral support of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Regrettably, this support was not attended with material aid. Angola bears the brunt of the struggle against racist South Africa, Dos Santos noted. Unlike any of the African countries, it sustains severe material and manpower losses. In view of this the president called on OAU members to concentrate efforts

on ending the conflict in the south of Africa, expedite the decolonization of Namibia, dismantle the apartheid regime and attain full and unconditional peace in the region.

"A positive solution of the problems of southern Africa hinges on the South African Government's response to the peace proposals advanced by us at the negotiations in London. The Republic of South Africa intends to put forward counter-proposals. These questions will be discussed at the next round of talks to take place in Brazzaville in the next few weeks," Dos Santos said.

Ethiopia Declares State of Emergency

LD1505104188 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Addis Ababa May 15 TASS—The Council of State of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) has adopted a decree on introducing a state of emergency in Eritrea and Tigre provinces. The measure was prompted by the increased activity of secessionist groups in the country's north.

Under the decree, defence and security councils are being set up in the two provinces. Members of the councils will be appointed by the PDRE.

Ethiopian Red Cross Official Views Soviet Aid

LD1605070088 Moscow TASS in English 0644 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Addis Ababa May 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yegor Kuznetsov:

The long-standing and close bonds between the Red Cross Society of Ethiopia and the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Soviet Union have proved their effectiveness once again at a time when the African country has been hit by drought, the Ethiopian Red Cross Society's Chairman Dauit Zeude has said here.

The latest drought, the second in the past five years, has affected not only the arid northern areas of Wollo, Tigre and Eritrea, but also some parts of the country that were not considered drought-prone in the past, he told this correspondent.

Drought has afflicted the north of Shoa and parts of Harerge, Sidamo and Gondar and five million people have found themselves under the threat of famine.

Although the government, the relief aid and rehabilitation commission and the Red Cross Society are doing everything in their power to help people in the regions in distress, Ethiopia is not yet capable of coping with the effects of the natural calamity on its own, Zeude said.

Many countries, charity organizations and national Red Cross societies have responded to its call for help, he added, noting that Ethiopia has been receiving tangible aid from the USSR and the Soviet Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies all the time.

The USSR has flown medicines, tents and babyfoods to Ethiopia and supplied this country with 250,000 tons of grain. The Aeroflot group has been carrying food, physicians and Ethiopian Red Cross personnel to drought-afflicted areas.

Efforts to deal with the drought involve Ethiopian specialists who have been trained in the USSR.

In 1987 alone, Soviet non-governmental organizations have given Ethiopia aid totalling 350 million roubles, Zeude said.

The activities of secessionist groups in Eritrea and Tigre have seriously complicated relief operations, he noted. The government has had to recall the foreign personnel of various international organizations, including the International Red Cross Committee, from that region as their lives otherwise would be in jeopardy.

Although food supplies to the population have continued without an interruption, a hostile campaign has been started against Ethiopia in this connection. "This is why we very much appreciate the honest and consistent position of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR and its cooperation with us on the international scene." Zeude said.

Adamishin Talks With African Ambassadors

PM1705121788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dedicated to the Jubilee"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin received on 11 May Ambassadors P.A. Sane of Senegal, A.D. Tavares of the Republic of Cape Verde, M. Kisaka of Kenya, and F.M. Liboma of Zambia who are accredited in Moscow.

During the conversation they discussed questions concerning festive events dedicated to the forthcoming Africa Day jubilee—the 25th anniversary of the OAU's formation. In addition, they touched upon some topical problems of the situation in southern Africa.

The conversation proceeded in a comradely atmosphere.

Demichev Receives Departing Somali Envoy

LD1305212388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Today Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

received Ismail, Somali ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his final departure for home. During the conversation, there was a discussion of questions connected with the development of Soviet-Somali relations, as well as topical international problems, including the situation in the Horn of Africa.

East Europe

GDR's Honecker Commemorates Liberation Day

PM1605135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman: "An Exploit in the Name of the Future"]

[Text] Berlin—It has been 43 years since the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition and its chief force—the Soviet Union—over fascism and the peoples' liberation from fascist barbarism. In the fierce fight to the death the country of Lenin defended socialism and civilization and accomplished a historic exploit in the name of the happy future of Europe and the whole world. Every year during these May days, by the monument to the Soviet serviceman-liberator in Berlin's Treptow Park, we honor the memory of the 20 million Soviet people who gave their lives to defeat German fascism. These words are engraved on the monument's pylons: "Eternal glory to the Soviet Army servicemen who gave their lives in the struggle to free mankind from fascist slavery." Friendship with the Soviet Union has become our people's vital cause.

The victory and the liberation which marked the end of World War II and crowned the struggle of antifascists in many countries, including German antifascists, had a decisive impact on the further course of international affairs and opened up the peoples' way to new heights. In accordance with the Potsdam agreement, there emerged on German soil an opportunity to break once and for all with the past in which the rule of imperialism and militarism inevitably had pernicious consequences. This new path led us to the formation of the GDR, our socialist worker-peasant state which has been developing steadily and dynamically for almost 4 decades in strong cooperation with the fraternal countries. Situated at the center of Europe, from where two devastating world wars originated in the 20th century, it is now a reliable bulwark of peace and socialism.

The history of the GDR already contains many chapters written by the creative labor of the entire people under the leadership of the SED. Socialist creation has been carried out under conditions of tough confrontation with those forces in the West which in no way wish to resign themselves to the fact that socialism is also firmly established on German soil. The history of the GDR is, at the same time, a history of the continuous deepening of friendship with the Soviet Union, with whose protection and support we embarked on the cause of socialist building and successfully carried it out. Our cooperation has now attained an incomparably higher level and embraces all spheres of life.

In our time all the socialist countries are concerned to ensure that more efficient use is made of Marxism-Leninism, which constitutes the basis of their activity, in accordance with their national conditions. Bearing full responsibility to its own people, each party must find the solutions to its own country's sociopolitical tasks which best correspond to the specific conditions and requirements. This is their chief contribution to the cause of strengthening socialism on an international scale.

Guided by this approach, the 11t SED Congress adopted decisions on the further building of a developed socialist society in the GDR, which we are now working to implement. These decisions are based on experience accumulated over decades, which attests that we are dealing with an historic process of profound political, economic, social, spiritual, and cultural transformations. Our chief task is to ensure the unity of economic and social policy. This course has received the full support of the people and of all the parties and public organizations cooperating within the framework of the GDR National Front. As practice attests, new answers constantly have to be given to the questions life presents. We must not stop at what has been achieved.

At the Central Committee Secretariat conference with first secretaries of SED regional committees—and these are held regularly at the beginning of each year—we discussed in detail the domestic and foreign policy tasks facing us in 1988. Emphasis was placed on the exceptionally great significance of this year from the viewpoint both of fulfilling the current 5-year plan and of ensuring further progress in preserving peace and in the sphere of reducing nuclear and conventional arms. Such conferences have become a very fruitful forum for propagandizing progressive experience, formulating answers to urgent questions, and ensuring a unified orientation in ideological work. What has been achieved is being analyzed in a realistic, frank, critical, and constructive spirit, and conclusions are being drawn on further work.

The overall results of our development are positive. At the beginning of the seventies we began implementing far-reaching reforms. The fundamental simplification of the system of management and planning in industry and construction, for example, merits a mention. It led to the abolition of intermediate management links and, as the result of a lengthy process, to the transformation of combines into the backbone of our planned economy. Contract economic relations were set up between these major economic units and GDR Academy of Sciences and higher school establishments. The new labor legislation has contributed to the development of socialist democracy in the labor sphere. Trade unions utilize their increased rights on the basis of it and have become active

partners in the elaboration and conclusion of collective contracts. The authority of general meetings of trade union organizers has increased. The reform of wholesale prices in industry and the agrarian sector has laid the foundations of the introduction of economic accountability [khozyaystvenny raschet] to the utmost degree possible. A unified, harmonious system of public education has been created, including the all-around improvement of vocational and technical education.

In agriculture interfarm cooperation ties have been developed, thanks to which cooperation between crop-growing and livestock-raising agricultural production cooperatives and people's estates has been raised to a higher level. The GDR Agrarian Scientific Society has activated its work—which has helped considerably to link science and peasant practice. The activity of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association and of agricultural trade cooperatives has received great support. The Society of Amateur Horticulturists and Livestock Raisers has become an important factor in the organization of people's leisure, as well as supplies for the population. In trade we have considerably broadened the potential of the state trade organization and consumer cooperatives. Handicraft production cooperatives and private craftsmen, private retail stores, restaurants, and cafes have received all possible assistance and support.

Thanks to the uniting of economic and social policy into a single strong whole, the advantages of socialism benefit the people not in the distant future but directly today and tomorrow, in close connection with the growth of the country's economic might. A graphic expression of this is the housing construction program aimed at resolving the housing question as a social problem by 1990. In the course of realizing this program 2,840,500 apartments were constructed or modernized from 1971 through 1987. In this way 8.5 million citizens of the republic, that is, more than half the country's population, received new apartments.

In adopting decisions we proceed from the understanding that the steady growth of the country's economic might can be ensured only by way of intensive expanded production. In practice this means, above all, the close uniting of science with production in the interests of more quickly raising labor productivity and combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. This aim is served by the creation and improvement of combines which embrace the basic elements of the process of reproduction, starting with scientific research work and the introduction of its results into production, right through to sales of products on domestic and foreign markets. The improvement of central state planning and the process of working out balances with the help of microelectronic computer equipment is aimed at achieving this same aim. Also inseparably linked with this is the constant broadening and deepening of economic accountability, which is being continued today by the introduction of the principle of self-financing by way of an experiment at a considerable number of GDR combines.

After 1971 production intensification assumed a ubiquitous nature, which made it possible to achieve a new quality of economic growth. In accordance with the SED's economic strategy, the rate of increase is increasingly being determined by the development and use of key modern technologies, such as, for example, microelectronics, the computer equipment based on it, biotechnology, and the creation of flexible automated production processes, whose introduction we have already begun and the prospect for which we see in the creation of entire automated plants.

These profound transformations in the production structure make high demands on the quality of management and planning. The road leading to their implementation is not smooth. Many new problems have to be resolved. The struggle to advance to leading positions in the world in decisive sectors renders particularly inadmissible any omissions in creating the necessary preconditions for this in other spheres of the economy, right down to the infrastructure. The pace of economic growth is increasingly determined by the scope of securing new scientific research results and by the economic efficiency of their introduction. We have splendid experience in this sphere, but we must accelerate its dissemination.

The GDR's most important potential, whose significance is now increasing, is people's knowledge, experience, and initiative. Through training and retraining and by raising cadres' qualifications we are increasing this priceless capital, whose effect on the country's economic life is manifested through the working people's broad participation in discussing plan targets and socialist pledges and through the trade unions' participation in decisionmaking on all economic and social questions of production. This approach accords with our principle "Participate in labor, planning, and management!" which vividly characterizes the development of socialist democracy in our country. The party's ideological and political activity is creating a spiritual climate which does not permit leveling between good and careless work. Thus, economic methods encourage the attainment of high results in saving live labor, materials, and energy sources. The principle of distribution according to labor is becoming more effective—which presupposes a clear orientation toward ensuring a rich range of foodstuffs and increasing production of high-quality consumer goods. A social policy which accords with the people's many-sided interests proves to be a force which stimulates the attainment of high results in industry, agriculture, and all other spheres.

Socialism's attraction is largely determined by how it manages to scale the foremost heights of the scientific and technical revolution and remain there. In cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries we have made considerable progress in this

and are working hard to consolidate it. Socialism's superiority has already been proven in one regard: Production rationalization and automation are accompanied in our country by full employment, social protection, and a further rise in the people's material and cultural living standards, that is, they are carried out for the good of the person. Unlike capitalism, we are coping with these long-term processes without knowing unemployment, new poverty, or bankruptcy for firms. Of course, new demands on labor and new problems arise, as well as contradictions requiring creative solutions and the constant improvement of socialist production relations.

However much we still have left to do, life is already demonstrating that this strategy is correct. Economic development in the eighties is characterized by high growth rates in our country, and the national income is increasing by an average of 4 percent a year. The plan was also fulfilled successfully, on the whole, in the first quarter of 1988. The increase in net output, which stands at 8.3 percent, remains quite high and is based on increased labor productivity. Industrial commodity production has increased 4.3 percent. Great importance attaches to the fact that a large proportion of the scientific and technical projects and capital investments planned for this year had already been realized in the first quarter. Despite the not very favorable weather, the spring field work in agriculture and in cooperatives was carried out without laggardness. Important preconditions have thereby been created for repeating and exceeding last year's good harvest, when an average of 45.9 quintals of grain per hectare was gathered in.

At the same time as citing this information on the GDR's development, we emphasize the great significance we attach to all-around, constantly deepening cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is currently acquiring many qualitatively new features. This is expressed, above all, in the prospects for long-term scientific, technical, and economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR during the period through the year 2000. In accordance with the two countries' aims, advanced technologies are being brought to the fore, particularly modern microelectronics and computer equipment. This principled aim was the leitmotiv of all my talks with M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Since 1949 the USSR has been the GDR's most important foreign trade partner, just as the GDR, for its part, has for decades held first place among the USSR's foreign trade partners. During the 1981-1985 5-year plan alone the GDR's foreign trade turnover with the Soviet Union totaled R64.9 billion. Soviet foreign trade turnover with the GDR was equal to the volume of turnover with Japan, the United States, Italy, and France put together. In 1986 and 1987 the GDR's share in all Soviet foreign trade increased to 11.4 percent, whereas in 1980 it amounted to 9.8 percent.

Traditional deliveries of raw and other source materials from the Soviet Union, which had not changed since 1985, are acquiring still greater weight. They have always been the decisive, indispensable basis of our national economy's development, since we do not possess oil, for example. In the course of all possible intensification we are seeking more profound processing of these materials and their more efficient utilization. Concerning forms of cooperation, we strive to make the maximum use of everything that has justified itself in life.

Such a sound mechanism is the coordination of annual plans, including both scientific work and production and mutual commodity exchange with due regard to the principles of price formation that operate within the CEMA framework. On the other hand, direct ties between combines, associations, and enterprises have enjoyed strong development. There are already more than 120 agreements of this kind in existence, on whose basis almost half the GDR's export deliveries to the USSR envisaged in the national economic plan are made. The fundamental coincidence of our countries' economic strategies and their orientation toward intensifying production and carrying out a scientific and technical revolution for the people's good are an important stimulus.

It is with great interest that we follow the creative efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet people in implementing the policy adopted by the 27th congress of accelerating the USSR's socioeconomic development to strengthen socialism and make it more attractive. This is of great significance both for the country itself and—no less importantly—for strengthening the USSR's positions in the international arena. Therefore the process of renewal which is taking place on the scale of that vast country and which embraces all spheres of its social life meets with our full support.

Wherever you look in the modern socialist world, everywhere full-blooded development processes are under way and a search is on for topical replies to new sociopolitical challenges. It is important here to learn from one another without copying. It is not worth seeking a single model. No one has a prescription that is suitable for all, and such a prescription does not exist. It is all the more important to exchange experience, to cooperate, and to show mutual solidarity.

In full unity with the CPSU and the USSR, being their reliable combat comrades, the SED and the GDR are consistently implementing a policy of ensuring peace, eliminating nuclear weapons, and reducing conventional arms. Much has been set in motion here, and promising results have been achieved. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has performed a great service here, which our people value highly. The start of nuclear disarmament resulting from the conclusion of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is an event of historic significance. On the threshold

of the new summit meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Moscow hopes are growing throughout the world that new results aimed at continuing the disarmament process will be achieved.

There is still great danger of a nuclear catastrophe. Measures such as the envisaged 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms with strict compliance with the ABM Treaty, a ban on chemical weapons, the ending of nuclear tests, and the radical reduction of conventional armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals are becoming all the more urgent. At the last two meetings of the Warsaw Pact states' leaders in Berlin our states concretized their peace program and advanced new proposals in this area. By its policy of dialogue and cooperation the GDR is struggling to implement them, advancing corresponding initiatives. Together with the CSSR, for example, it proposed the creation in Central Europe of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons. This June the GDR will host an international meeting for the creation of nuclear-free zones, which will be held in Berlin.

On the 43d anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation I send the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Government, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and the entire Soviet people most cordial greetings and fraternal congratulations. We will never forget the heroism which saved mankind from the brown barbarism. Shoulder to shoulder we will cope with the problems of the present and the future.

Further on Yazov Return From GDR Visit
PM1605115588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov returned to Moscow from Berlin 13 May.

At the airport he was met by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Gedneral Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' joint Armed Forces; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, and other officials.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov and Army General V.M. Shabanov arrived with the USSR defense minister.

S. Koerner, GDR charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR, and Major General H. Unterdoerfel, military, naval, and air attache to the GDR Embassy in the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

Polish Legal Unions Seen To Protect Workers
PM1705154188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 May 88p 3

[Yu. Vasilkov "Our Commentary": "Working People's Interests Are the Main Thing"]

[Text] Reports are coming in from Poland that attempts to whip up "strike fever" and destabilize the social situation have not met with massive support in the country. Data published by the Public Opinion Research Center illustrates that 62 percent of the Polish population when polled opposed the strikes, 13 percent did not express an opinion, and only 25 percent consider work stoppages to be an effective means of solving socioeconomic problems.

"It is obvious that the strikes and the attempts to broaden the scale of the strikes are completely at variance with the law on the procedure for resolving labor disputes adopted in 1982," the SPRAWY I LUDZI weekly writes. "Moreover, illegal opposition structures, which have taken up the slogan concerning the need for 'trade union pluralism,' have joined in the demands for increased wages quite justifiably put forward by the trade unions."

The National Trade Union Accord Executive Committee has adopted a resolution describing the main cause of the disturbances, disputes, and conflicts as "inaccurate decisions regarding prices and wages, which devastated the market and intensified inflation, and also the taxation system, which is overwhelming proposals of market goods and services." It also notes the administration's disregard of signals emanating from the trade unions on this matter.

As is well known, the second phase of economic reform is being implemented in Poland. Its aims—democracy, self-management, and economic revival—are supported by the overwhelming majority of society.

Statistics reflect definite progress as a result of the introduction of the reform principles. However, the Polish press claims that not all strata of the population can see any positive changes in their situation. Working people employed in the public sector and pensioners are alarmed by a drop in their living standards and by price increases. Hence belief in real economic changes is being undermined.

At the same time the National Trade Union Accord Executive Committee stressed in the aforementioned resolution that striking is an exceptional last resort in today's economic situation. Poland's trade unions are

fighting to implement the economic demands put forward by working people and at the same time resolutely oppose "wildcat" strikes and the use of such strikes for machinations in the interests of various political intriguers.

Recent events have confirmed the prestige of the Polish trade unions. Their opponents within the country have also been forced to acknowledge this indirectly. VOA reported that the illegal "Solidarity" is prepared to recognize the official trade unions. PAP describes this statement as sensational. For everyone in Poland remembers what an aggressive campaign "Solidarity" mounted from the very start of its then legal activity against the other trade unions. Nor have they forgotten its campaign to boycott the new trade unions and its abusive attacks on them from underground. Now that Polish trade unions have revived to encompass more than 50 percent of all working people and are able to vigorously defend workers' interests, a PAP commentary says, the tiny remnants of the former "Solidarity" must take them into consideration.

It is the trade unions' firm positions in the country's public life which have also determined the attitude of the National Trade Union Accord Executive Committee to the draft law granting the Polish Council of Ministers extraordinary powers, which was submitted to the Polish Sejm (parliament) for examination to effectively counteract factors checking the introduction of economic reform, excessive price rises, and other inflationary phenomena. The draft envisaged, in particular, halting the operation of the legal trade unions' powers. The National Trade Union Accord Executive Committee described this item in the draft as a contravention of the principle of democratizing the management process enshrined in the 9th and 10th PZPR Congress decisions. Taking into consideration trade union opinion, the government submitted the draft to the Sejm session carrying an appropriate amendment.

Article 6 of the law adopted by the Sejm specifies the exclusive right of the National Trade Union Accord (along with the National Peasants' Union, rural circles and organizations) to instigate collective debates on matters linked to the Council of Ministers' exercise of its emergency powers.

Greetings to New SFRY Leader Published

PM1805111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Undated USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium message congratulating R. Dizdarevic on election as SFRY president]

[Text] To Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

Accept cordial congratulations on your election as president of the SFRY Presidency.

We are profoundly convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which are based on jointly elaborated principles, will broaden and strengthen and will dynamically scale new heights in the interests of our countries' peoples and of the cause of peace and socialism.

We wish you, Comrade Dizdarevic, great successes in this responsible state post.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

LCY Plenum Discusses Economic Situation

PM1805085588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May—Topical questions of Yugoslavia's economic development in the early months of this year and measures planned to stabilize the economy and combat inflation were discussed at a LCY Central Committee plenum held here.

The keynote speaker, M. Renovica, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, noted that the emergency measures taken by the government at the end of last year have had definite results: The rise in inflation has slowed down, the price imbalance in a number of economic sectors has been reduced, there has been a noticeable increase in the export of goods and services, and a positive balance of payments has been established.

According to Renovica, however, the overall economic situation in the country remains complex. Prices continue to rise, the industrial production rate is declining, agriculture is experiencing difficulties, and the population's living standard is falling. All this leads one to conclude that the country's economic crisis is deepening. The SFRY Federal Assembly must find out why the economic policy measures formulated by the government have not been carried out. The LCY national conference due at the end of May must analyze the ideological and political conditions hampering the implementation of that policy.

The speaker pointed out that it is necessary to combat the dominance of normative acts and excessive administration and to struggle for the broader introduction of market mechanisms into the economy. The plenum also examined questions of the further enhancement of labor collectives' economic independence and the development of self-management.

Jakes Addresses Prague Party Organization

PM1805091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "M. Jakes' Speech"]

[Text] Prague, 16 May—The CPCZ is the initiator and guarantor of the successful implementation of the restructuring process which has begun in the country. This was stated by M. Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, on addressing a city conference of the CPCZ in Prague. Communists are becoming increasingly conscious of the need to decisively change the substance, style, and methods of party work—which is the chief condition for revolutionary changes in all spheres of the life of society.

The Leninist course of the 27th CPSU Congress, he emphasized, has been a source of inspiration for Czechoslovak Communists. That course will undoubtedly be developed further at the upcoming 19th all-union party conference, which is creating great interest in the CSSR.

The raising of the pace of international socialist integration is an important factor for the successful realization of our socioeconomic plans. The CSSR has a vital interest in active and enterprising participation in it and attaches special significance to the upcoming 44th CEMA Session in Prague.

There has recently been an appreciable increase in the activities of external and internal enemies of socialism, whose activities are organized chiefly by Western political and ideological centers, M. Jakes went on to say. Speculating on the existing problems and difficulties, they are trying to abuse the development of socialist democracy and create political and social tension in our country. Opposition to their hostile activity is a matter not only for the appropriate state organs but also for every Communist and all honest citizens of Czechoslovakia.

Our plans for socialist building can be fulfilled only under conditions of peace. The new political thinking in international affairs, which the USSR is struggling to assert, is making headway. This is confirmed by the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and by the Soviet and U.S. readiness in principle to sign an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. We are confident that the upcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan will give a new boost to the cause of disarmament, the speaker emphasized in conclusion.

Demichev Receives Romanian Party Official

LD1705231588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2128 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] On 17 May, Comrade Demichev received in the Kremlin Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the republican State Council. During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere they discussed Soviet-Romanian relations. They emphasized that the problems of socioeconomic development facing the peoples of the two countries require common efforts to solve them successfully. This includes increased ties between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [video shows meeting].

West Europe

UK Upgrading at Odds With Nuclear Curb Efforts

PM1805113188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "After the Tridents"]

[Text] London, 17 May—Following the adoption of a large-scale program to equip the British submarine fleet with the latest Trident nuclear missile systems, the Conservative government has announced the "modernization" of one more constituent element of the so-called "independent nuclear deterrent force" —the arsenal of atom bombs. It is proposed to replace them by air-launched nuclear missiles with a range of approximately 500 km—which will considerably extend the potential of the British Air Force to inflict nuclear strikes.

In a television interview for the BBC, the head of the military department officially confirmed the earlier alarming reports in the British press on these plans. Justifying the new program, which runs counter to the international efforts to reduce nuclear arsenals in Europe, G. Younger claimed that in this case it is a question just "of the simple replacement of obsolete weapons systems." At the same time, the minister confirmed once again that reliance on "nuclear deterrence" remains the "cornerstone" of the British Government's defense policy, and he also maintained that this kind of "modernization" is the most inexpensive and efficient way of strengthening the country's defense capability.

It is clear from the military minister's statements that the Tory cabinet still has to draw up the details of this program and, in particular, define its "partners" in creating the new air-launched missile. Options for joint developments with France or the United States or, perhaps, with the participation of both countries at once are currently being discussed.

Tolstykh Receives UK's Lord Callaghan

LD1605174888 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR, today received Lord Callaghan of Great Britain.

They exchanged views of prospects of scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Britain.

The British ambassador to the USSR, Bryan Cartledge, was present during the conversation.

Gromyko Greets Tampere Non-Nuclear Forum

PM1705150488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[A. Gromyko message to Finnish-Soviet seminar]

[Text] To the participants in the Finnish-Soviet seminar "For a Nonviolent and Nuclear-Free World."

I cordially greet the journalists of Finland and the Soviet Union who have gathered in Tampere to take part in a seminar "For a Nonviolent and Nuclear-Free World."

It is noteworthy that the meeting is taking place in the year of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between our countries. On the basis of this document, many useful initiatives and mutually enriching forms of cooperation have sprung up in virtually all spheres of Soviet-Finnish intercourse. Your seminar is a graphic example of this.

The international public's desire for peace and equal, mutually advantageous cooperation is a characteristic feature of our time. Under these conditions the role of the mass media in truthfully, objectively publicizing this process increases immeasurably. Soviet and Finnish journalists can actively promote the strengthening of mutual trust, the enrichment of bilateral ties, the establishment of the new political thinking and the realities of the modern world, and the implementation of the important initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk.

I wish you fruitful and successful work.

A. Gromyko,

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Envoy Objects to Austria's 'Full' EC Membership

AU1705214088 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 17 May 88

[Interview with Gennadiy Shikin, Soviet ambassador to Austria, by Claudia Neuhauser at a news conference in Vienna on 17 May—videorecorded in German]

[Text] [Shikin] Mr Gerasimov has corrected the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE report which claimed that he sees no obstacles to this entry [of Austria into the EC].

[Neuhauser] But what is the exact reason? Gerasimov says that permanent neutrality is laid down in the State Treaty. This is not correct, for permanent neutrality is not stipulated in the State Treaty.

[Shikin] Not formally; you are completely right. But you are very well acquainted with the Moscow memorandum which was signed by the Governments of Austria and the Soviet Union, even before the signing of the State Treaty. This memorandum explicitly states what Austria afterward laid down in a law, that is, that Austria will stick to permanent neutrality according to the Swiss model.

[Neuhauser] So could you repeat whether the Soviet Union is clearly in favor of or against Austria's entry into the EC?

[Shikin] I have repeatedly stated, and also at my news conference in February, that we actually do not object to Austria's approaching the EC in the field of the economy and its regulation of problems arising in connection with creating the so-called European domestic market. We have no objections to this whatsoever. But entry into the EC is a completely different matter. This has nothing to do with our relations. We have only expressed our opinion.

[Neuhauser] That is to say—if I am permitted to sum it up—the Soviet Union's objections refer to full membership but not to Austria's approaching the EC?

[Shikin] Yes, you have understood me correctly.

Austrian Minister Blecha Holds Moscow Briefing

LD1505203388 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—"The invitation extended to me to visit the USSR shows that the Soviet Union is much interested in international cooperation in combatting crime", Austria's Minister of the Interior, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria Karl Blecha, said at a press conference here today. He was staying in the Soviet Union from May 11 to May 15 at the invitation of USSR Minister of the Interior Colonel-General Aleksandr Vlasov.

"During the conversations with Soviet colleagues we have established points of contacts and outlined concrete ways for cooperation of the USSR and Austria, specifically, in combatting international trafficking in narcotics", Karl Blecha said. "We have been greatly impressed with openness with which the problems posed by illegal transportation of narcotics via the USSR territory have been discussed", he said. Austria hopes to conclude with the Soviet Union an agreement in this area patterned on the recently signed similar Soviet-British agreement, he noted.

Problems connected with combatting terrorism and preventing aircraft hijacking were also discussed during the visit. The Austrian guest visited a special unit for combatting terrorism.

Portuguese, Soviet Leaders Discuss South Africa

LD1805055788 Moscow TASS in English 0520 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Lisbon May 18 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin and Portugal's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs J.M. Durao Barroso held a useful and constructive exchange of views on African issues and, primarily, on a wide range of issues connected with the situation in southern Africa and with a search for possible ways of the political settlement of this regional conflict. Since the sides had some elements of coincidence in their approaches to this issue, it was decided to continue a regular exchange of views on this subject.

The consultations were attended by Soviet Ambassador to Portugal Valentin Kasatkin.

Adamishin Remarks Cited

LD1705192788 Lisbon International Service in Portuguese 1800 GMT 17 May 88

[Excerpts] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, who is in Lisbon for talks on southern Africa with Portuguese authorities, today held a 90-minute meeting with Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Durao Barroso.

At the end of the meeting, Durao Barroso told reporters that this was an exchange of views on the situation in southern Africa.

[Begin Barroso recording] (?Talks); it was only an exchange of views and analysis between the Soviet Government and our government on what is happening in southern Africa. I think that it is of great interest to exchange views. Whatever Portugal can contribute, as well as the USSR, to finding a peaceful solution in that region is positive. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Adamishin thought that a peaceful solution for southern Africa would have to be found by the parties directly involved in the talks on [word indistinct]. He refused to admit that a solution to the present Angolan conflict is the division of Angola [words indistinct]. Adamishin added that the USSR will continue to assist the Angolan Government militarily.

During his stay in the Portuguese capital, Adamishin will also be holding talks on southern Africa with U.S. Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker. Crocker will be arriving in Lisbon tomorrow.

Kornilov Assesses 'New Page' in FRG Relations

LD1705181888 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Mikhail Gorbachev had quite a substantive meeting with Martin Bangemann, minister of economics of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), chairman of the Free Democratic Party, in Moscow on Monday.

Somewhat earlier Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders met with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, with Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wuerttemberg, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and other prominent figures of the FRG. These meetings have been held over recent months alone.

Generalizing the facts, many analysts draw the conclusion and with good reason that the period of hostility and estrangement between the Soviet Union and the FRG is receding into the past and is being replaced, or to be more exact, has already been replaced by an era of serious and frank dialogue involving all the main political forces of the FRG, the dialogue which signifies the beginning of advance of Soviet-West German relations to a different, new level which would accord with European and world realities and with the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

The range of the dialogue is quite wide but the idea of a "common European home" and the problems of confidence- and security-building on the continent remain invariably one of its key elements. And this is only natural. We in Moscow are convinced that without Europe's independent contribution it is impossible to change radically international relations and to rid them of military-strategic notions of security.

Europe has gained a wealth of historical experience and possesses a major economic and intellectual potential. Such role of our continent is inconceivable without the FRG or without an improvement of its relations with the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized during the meeting with Martin Bangemann, "Soviet-West German relations are the key to the understanding of many a matter in European and world politics".

As is known, the Soviet Union consistently comes out in favour of curbing the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe and outside it. Analyzing the course and development of the Soviet-West German dialogue, our public is gratified to state that similarity of the views of political figures of our two countries on many cardinal issues of disarmament is being revealed during the dialogue. Such issues as the inadmissibility of a transfer of weapons to outer space, the unacceptability of any 'modernizations' and 'compensations' leading to depreciation of the Soviet-U.S.

INF Treaty, the importance of concluding a comprehensive convention banning chemical weapons at an earliest date, the advisability of the establishment of an appropriate European zone as an intermediate measure, and reductions in conventional arms and the armed forces.

Of course, the attainment of these goals is not a simple or easy matter but experience shows that, provided there is appropriate political will and constructive approach, it is possible—and, consequently, this must be done— to find mutually acceptable resolutions of contentious issues and to make headway step by step.

In answer to a question by one of Soviet journalists, Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, once pointed out: "East-West relations should not be allowed to be limited to disarmament alone, even if the problem is thrice as important; trust is essential for achieving success. Such trust is formed not only through arms reductions under strict control but also through the development of contacts in the fields of culture, sports, expansion of scientific exchanges and economic cooperation. [no closing quotation marks as received]

In order to give the "second wind" to Soviet-West German relations, most diverse all-round contacts and, first of all, trade-and-economic ones, are essential. It is gratifying that voices calling for the establishment of a good material foundation of Soviet-West German relations and for new approaches in the sphere of economic cooperation—specifically in matters concerning joint ventures—sound ever more loudly both in the USSR and in the FRG.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in Autumn 1988 in accordance with a mutual arrangement, and Mikhail Gorbachev is to pay an official visit to the FRG in the first half of next year.

The arrangement for the exchange of visits at summit level, during which it will be possible to sum up the results of what has been done and to raise relations between the two countries to a new level with an eye to the future, is a tangible evidence that the choice in favour of cooperation and of drawing closer together has been made. This choice and this new page of our relations is being welcomed both by the Soviet and West German public.

'Rejoinder' to FRG Defense Minister's Remarks

PM1705170088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[A. Lukyanov "Rejoinder": "Restructuring and 'World Revolution'"]

[Text] "He's gotten carried away!" the reader will think, looking at that headline. And he will be right. It only remains to ask—who is carried away? But first things first....

In the next few days, the FRG's new defense minister, Rupert Scholz, officially assumes his duties. He will replace Manfred Woerner, who has won a reputation as a "hawk" in his 5 and 1/2 years in that post. Some people in the FRG therefore hoped that the new minister would be able to take an unprejudiced look at the problems of war and peace.

A strong, independent personality, a brilliant analyst (R. Scholz is a law scholar by education), DIE WELT wrote of him. He "will concern himself not only with weapons, but with the state of morale in our country."

What "morale" DIE WELT is worried about is clear: The myth of the "Soviet military threat," instilled over decades, has now been severely undermined in the West. Trust in our country has increased markedly. The words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" are understood by Germans in the FRG without translation. But apparently not by all of them....

Before even entering on his duties, in an interview for the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Scholz hastened to warn West Germans against misunderstanding... Soviet intentions at disarmament talks. Judge for yourself how the "brilliant analyst" reasons: "Gorbachev needs calm on the foreign front," Scholz stated. "He needs tranquillity within the country. For that, he needs... a breathing space in the arms race." In short, you should keep a sharp eye on the Soviets. Otherwise, after a "breathing space," they will "surge ahead" so fast that the West will not be able to catch up! But the question is: Do we need to compete in the arms race? One more round, and the "finish" could be common to everyone, and final....

The most "gripping" subject for Scholz is restructuring. Why? Perhaps because of the scale of the transformations, the peace plans oriented toward the future? Nothing of the kind. "If the restructuring and glasnost experiment is successful," he believes, then the Russians, having created a more efficient economy, will become "better and stronger," and that means "mightier in the arms sphere...." And they need that, he says, so as "to display militant class solidarity with the revolutionary processes in the world, if necessary by military means...."

So there is your "analysis." Does it not smack of the old tune of "the export of world revolution"—only in a new key? Whether this tune, performed in this way, will be able to boost the FRG Germans' "morale" is, in my view, dubious. But I am quite sure that this tune is not in the spirit of the time.

Weekly Interviews Italian Communist Natta

LD1305103188 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—"We consider it positive and important to all that dialogue between the USSR and the U.S. has already led to a certain success like, for

example, the signature of the INF Treaty which is of special significance to Europe," Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, has said.

Speaking in an interview with the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES, he said the working-class and all progressive forces in Europe and the world as a whole could not but wish success to current Soviet policy.

"But it has to be admitted that there are hostile forces as well. From the United States to Europe and also in other regions, there are forces which, by contrast, believe that it is essential to pursue a policy of pressure on the USSR.

"They fear that if the Soviet Union becomes stronger economically, technologically and scientifically, their present priveleges can be endangered.

"But I take the view that the hostile forces will not prevail, although they certainly should not be underestimated. This is why left-wing and peace forces are duty-bound to support the policy of democratization in the USSR," Natta said.

Speaking of perestroyka, as the reform drive in the USSR has come to be known, he pointed to a worldwide interest in this policy. He explained it with the fact that the USSR is a great power and with a close relationship between perestroyka and the policy of detente, co-existence and dialogue in the world.

Touching upon relations between the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Natta said that meetings between their leaders had lately become more frequent and the foundation on which those relations were based had been clearly defined.

"The PCI is a party which is independent in its political evaluations, choices and decisions. This is, in our view, the basis of independence and mutual respect between the PCI and the CPSU," he said.

Petrovskiy Receives Netherlands State Minister

LD1305220588 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received today E. van Lennep, the minister of state of the Netherlands who arrived in Moscow to participate in a session of the cooperation council of former heads of state and government.

They discussed prospects of safeguarding comprehensive security in the 1990s.

The ambassador of the Netherlands to the USSR, Petrus Buwalda, took part in the discussion.

Kovalev Receives Belgian Diplomat Van Looke

LD1705230288 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Kovalev today received Director General of the Political Department of Belgium's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Hollants van Looke who is staying here to hold consultations at the USSR Foreign Ministry on a broad range of topical international problems and quesitons of Soviet-Belgian relations.

Presidium, Greek President Exchange Greetings

PM1705140988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent President Khristos Sartzetakis of Greece a telegram conveying warm congratulations on the national day and wishes for well-being and prosperity to the friendly Greek people.

In a reply telegram, K. Sartzetakis expressed gratitude for the congratulations.

Both sides emphasized the conviction that the Soviet Union and Greece will continue to develop relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation for the good of the two countries' peoples and make a weighty, positive contribution to improving the international political climate.

RSFSR Officials Meet With Istanbul Officials

PM1805093988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Meetings in Turkey"]

[Text] Istambul—A delegation of leading officials of RSFSR soviets of people's deputies is on a visit here at the invitation of the Turkish Government. The delegation is headed by A.A. Sokolov, chairman of the Gorkiy Oblispolkom and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

The Soviet delegation was received by C. Bayar, governor of Istanbul Province, and B. Dalan, mayor of Istanbul. During the talks and meetings, a thorough exchange of views took place.

Latin America & Caribbean

Bombs Damage TASS Office in Guatemala

LD1805114288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Two bombs placed in the TASS office in Guatemala by unknown persons exploded last night, almost completely destroying the building. A car was also destroyed in the blast. The Soviet correspondent, Aleksandr Trushin, and his wife were unharmed. The police have arrived on the scene.

The TASS office had earlier received a letter containing threats from the Mano Blanca ultra right-wing organization.

Nicaragua UN Official Protests U.S. Contra Aid

LD1705231188 Moscow TASS in English 2220 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] New York May 17 TASS—Julio Icaza Gallard, charge d'affaires ad interim of the permanent mission of Nicaragua at the United Nations, has sent a letter to the U.N. secretary-general, stating a resolute protest in connection with "irresponsible attempts by U.S. authorities to provide the contras with cash" which is ostensibly intended for the purchase of food.

The Government of Nicaragua, the letter says, qualifies as unlawful the so-called humanitarian aid being rendered for the purpose of undermining peace efforts and stirring up war against Nicaragua again. Under the agreement signed at Sapoa such aid should constitute "food and main types of supplies for irregular formations", but not cash, for there are no guarantees as to how it will be used. The Nicaraguan Government's proposal to entrust the task of providing aid to irregular groups to the International Committee of the Red Cross is being ignored.

The provision of this kind of "aid" to contra forces will mean expansion of the use of Honduran territory as a springboard for the pursuance of unlawful policy by the United States, for a larger part of money will be sent by mail to Nicaragua from Honduras, emphasizes the letter which has been circulated as an official document of the U.N. Security Council.

Brazilian Local Councillors Visit RSFSR

PM1805095588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "A Delegation From Brazil"]

[Text] On 16 May a meeting was held between L.B. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and a delegation of the leadership of the Brazilian Union of Municipal Deputies headed by union President Paulo Silas. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was devoted to mutually advantageous ties between RSFSR and Brazilian local administrative bodies within the framework of the development of bilateral Soviet-Brazilian relations. Certain topical problems of the international situation were touched upon.

The guests, who were interested in the restructuring under way in the USSR, were acquainted with the profound transformations in all spheres of Soviet society's life.

The mutual hope was expressed that the visit to the USSR by the Union of Municipal Deputies leadership delegation would mark the beginning of a good tradition of direct ties between RSFSR local soviets and the Brazilian Union of Municipal Deputies.

On the same day, the RSFSR Government gave a luncheon in honor of the delegation.

The guests from Brazil had talks at the RSFSR Ministry of Education and at the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute.

Political & Social

Pavlograd Chemical Plant Explosion Kills Three

LD1805164688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1616 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Moscow 18 May (TASS)—Western agencies have circulated reports that an explosion occurred in Pavlograd (Ukraine). The Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs told a TASS correspondent:

An explosion occurred on 12 May at 0715 Moscow time during loading and unloading operations in the temporary dump of industrial explosives of the "Pavlodar Chemical Works" production association [Pavlodarskiy Chemicheskiy Zavod]. Twelve metric tons of ammonite exploded. Three people died. Five people were hospitalized. This plant produces industrial explosives: rocky ammonite, alumotol [allyumotol], and other ammonites. The fact that the accident had occurred and the absence of any dangerous consequences to the people's health and the environment were reported on Pavlograd city radio station on 12 May at 1615 by I.N. Prikhodko, chairman of the Pavlograd city executive committee, and on 13 May on Dnepropetrovsk Oblast radio by V.E. Golovchenko, head of health department of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

A commission is working to establish the causes of the explosion at the plant.

Reportedly Made Rocket Fuel

AU1805111688 Paris AFP in English 1100 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 18 (AFP)—An explosion occurred last week at a "chemical plant" in the Ukraine, a city official from Pavlograd said Wednesday, but he refused to confirm U.S. reports that the plant made engines for new long-range missiles. The Pentagon said Tuesday that a major explosion May 12 "destroyed several buildings" at a Pavlograd plant which manufactures the main rocket motors for the Soviet Union's new SS-24 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).

The city official in Pavlograd, interviewed by telephone from Moscow, refused to give any details on the blast, but added that the plant was still operating. At the plant itself, a person answering the phone said they were not allowed to reply to such questions.

U.S. officials said the Pavlograd plant, which is located about 500 miles (800 kilometers) southwest of Moscow, was the only Soviet facility making the main rocket motors for the new SS-24, which the Soviets began deploying on rail cars last year. The new missile has 10 warheads and can be launched from underground silos or rail cars. A U.S. source called the blast, detected by spy satellites, "a severe setback, albeit temporary," adding, "we estimate they could be back in production in six months."

'Democratic Union' Figure Jailed for 15 Days

AU1705144688 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 17 (AFP)—Valeriya Novodvorskaya, organizer of the self-proclaimed opposition party Democratic Union, was sentenced here Tuesday to 15 days in prison, a spokesman for the party said. Meanwhile Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the non-official review GLASNOST, was released Monday after serving seven days in jail, spokesman Yuri Mityunov said.

A court found Mrs. Novodvorskaya guilty of "resisting the forces of law and order" when she held a solo demonstration in a square here last Thursday. She was explaining to passers-by why the new party had been formed and holding a sign denouncing the one-party system. Police arrested her after 30 minutes.

Police raided a meeting of the Democratic Union held last week at Mr. Grigoryants' house, 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Moscow, and seized material due to be published in GLASNOST. Members of the Democratic Union describe it as the first Soviet opposition party in modern history. It reportedly has only a small and already divided following.

Moscow Weekly Views 'Democratic Union'

LD1805112488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (TASS)—Much ado about nothing—this is how journalist Yuriy Bandura in the latest issue of the 'MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI' weekly assesses the "constituent congress" of a certain "Democratic Union" (DS) [Demokraticheskiy Soyuz], an organization which lays claim to the role of an opposition political force.

This "latter-day association", points out the author, sets itself the aim of "changing the USSR's social system."

What is the thrust of the proposed changes? At the opening of the "constituent congress," Valeriy Novodvorskaya, a member of the 14-strong organizing committee, emphasized: "Western society becomes the guidepost for a considerable proportion of those present as far as a whole number of indicators is concerned, and for some of us, as far as absolutely all the indicators are concerned." Among the program guidelines is "letting private property have access to the means of production."

This appears to refer to the liquidation of the socialist order in the USSR and the restoration of capitalism.

Referring to the reasons for the appearance of an organization of the type of the "Democratic Union," one of the ugliest manifestations of the phenomenon of the alienation of part of society from socialist ideals, the author comments that the ground for it was prepared by Stalin's repressions and Brezhnev's stagnation, by our common mistakes and tasks left uncompleted, by a pseudoscientific social science teaching which gave no replies to "damned" questions, but dictated the "point of view," and so on.

Soiety as a whole, the author writes, has withstood this truly tremendous pressure. But not all could withstand it. And in the day-to-day consciousness of certain of our fellow-citizens myths gradually began to form: "negative" about socialist society, "positive" about capitalist society. The results of such myth-creation have now floated to the surface of social life in the form of the "DS program."

The aforementioned certainly does not mean that the initiators of the "opposition force" are guiltless victims of objective circumstances. They are convinced opponents of our structure, of the Soviet Union's political and economic system. Their utilization of the processes of democratization and glasnost which have been launched in our country is not a mitigating circumstance. The more so, since the compilers of the "program" wish to use for destructive aims that which we are creating for creative purposes.

"I do not think," Yu. Bandura points out, "that worshippers of the 'Western orientation' have either the social or the material backing for restoring capitalism in the USSR, nor will there be any. But some people are happy to assume there is."

Azerbaijan Presidium Appeal on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1805120388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0104 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Appeal of the Azerbiajan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades,

(?We want to) appeal to you once again in connection with the situation which has come about. The appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia has aroused satisfaction in both republics. In connection with events in Nagorno-Karabkah and around it [words indistinct]. The situation recently began to become tense again. All kinds of rumors and fabrications [words indistinct] have (?hampered) efforts to bring the situation back to normal in the republic.

Representatives of youth, students, and intellectuals in Baku staged a meeting. Members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau listened attentively to all of them. Natural anxiety and the desire for receiving answers, which worry people in connection with the situation which has come about in Nagorno-Karabakh, our republic, and Armenia SSR (?will be considered). But this should not be by meetings and demonstrations in nervousness and excitement. Because this way, as we all know, leads to unexpected conclusions. Questions asked by participants of the meeting were carefully examined. Measures will be taken immediately for some of these questions. But it must be borne in mind that some of the questions asked (?need) profound analysis and a certain [word indistinct].

On (?11) May this year, incidents which took place in some residential areas of Ararat Rayon of the Armenia SSR have caused anxiety among a certain section of the population. Arguments began among the population. There were people harmed, but there were no casualties. Party and soviet bodies are taking measures to return the situation to normal. Every incident is being separately (?analyzed) by the USSR Procuracy [words indistinct]. The Azerbiajan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and government of the republic are taking every measure to strengthen the situation and maintain the normal pace of life.

Under such unfavorable conditions every one of us is required to have the [word indistinct] particular to the best representatives of our people and to be extremely restrained. We should not allow anyone at all to disrupt traditions of friendship and hospitality by his irrational (?talk) or actions and harm [word indistinct] restructuring and the [word indistinct] steps of democratization.

The CPSU Central Committee is attaching importance above all to development of nationality relations. And many plenums of the CPSU were devoted to this. The party decisively states that all problems of national relations can only be (?solved) by legal and democratic processes. They must be solved without endangering the internationalist solidarity of our peoples even in the slightest way. People of Azerbaijan have always set an example of socialist internationalism. We are rightly proud of our traditions and it is the duty of every one of us to preserve and protect and develop these traditions.

We appeal to the multinational population of Azerbaijan and call on elders and mothers to be wise and call on our youth to act rationally. Only being restrained and worthy, having a profound feeling for the destiny of one's own people can prove people's will and spiritual power. We appeal to all our fellow countrymen, citizens of the republic, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, and people of all nationalities living in Azerbaijan: Do not follow emotions and rumors. Give decisive answers to instigators and intriguers who create hostility among nationalities. Set an example of calmness and restraint. Do not forget that we are all (?working) for the honor of our republic and for the honor of the people of Azerbaijan.

Moscow TV Carries Appeal by Azerbaijani Writer

LD1805010388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[text] Taking part in our program is Anar, first secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan, delegate to the 19th all-union party conference.

[Anar] A very important time, a time of restructuring, glasnost, and the further democratization of our life, a time for which I, like many others, have been waiting all my life, has started in the history of our country and in the fate of each one of us. But I now have ambiguous feelings, because the joy I feel on account of these great changes, the fact that the new way of thinking is affirmed more and more each day in our life, is mixed with a feeling of anxiety connected with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

I am far from thinking that these events should be ascribed to glasnost and restructuring, but in conditions of glasnost they came to the center of attention not only of our country, but of the whole world. And it seems to me that the most important thing now is to illuminate these events objectively, to understand the reasons for them, not to rely on tendentious and one-sided information. In particular this happened on the Standpoint [Pozitsiya] program. I do not agree with all its accents [as heard], although I understand that the makers of this program were full of good intentions. There are clear party decisions, there are decisions on the development of Nagorno-Karabakh, and these decisions must be fulfilled calmly and soberly.

But unfortunately I must say that these decisions are often incorrectly understood. At the present time many, many people come to the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan, from Nagorno-Karabakh, from Armenia, Azerbaijanis, for whom sometimes difficult conditions are being created for living in those areas. And if it is not for me, as a writer, to speak about this to the whole country, who will say it for them?

We must do everything to make sure that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in Nagorno-Karabakh in peace and friendship, on a basis of mutual respect, and of respect for each other's merits. It is a good thing that our peoples remember the past. Without a past, without a memory, there is no people.

We must be true to our past. But we must also be true to our future. We must think of the future. I appeal to you: Let's make sure that we do not leave unsolved problems, problems of hostility and of incomprehension to future generations. Let us build our relations on a basis of humanity and humaneness, of understanding each other's problems. Only in such a case will we truly work for restructuring, for the further democratization of our life, and for glasnost.

Western Media View of Interethnic Relations

PM1805085188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 May 88 p3

[Article by A. Davtyan, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute and candidate of philological sciences: "Burden of Errors, Time of Decision" under rubric "Do We Know Much About Each Other in Our Multinational [internatsionalnoye] State"]

[Text] It was with great alarm that we all followed the reports coming out of Azerbaijan and Armenia, trying to build up a more or less integral picture of the events on the basis of individual pieces of information. Shortcomings in the coverage of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh and the lack of prompt, full, adequate information were responsible for the appearance of various "folkloric" interpretations and conjectures. These included provocative rumors of the alleged existence of a fundamental "religious antagonism between Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbaijanis."

Provocative propaganda "canards" like these have been broadcast with great enthusiasm by subversive foreign radio stations which are traditionally always "quick" to fill in the gaps left by the Soviet mass media. Using the local conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh as a springboard, these subversive radio stations have attempted to persuade world public opinion of the "start of an anticolonial movement by the people against their oppressors" (!) In this respect the capitalist countries, which, it appears, "voluntarily liberated their colonies," are offered as a "model for emulation."

With the help of French Sovietologist H.C. D'Encausse, the term "colonial empire" as applied to the Soviet Union has become firmly established in the political phraseology of imperialist countries. Whereas D'Encausse only sees this "empire" as "split," the American Sovietologist Richard Pipes is already predicting with unconcealed delight the inevitable "collapse of the empire along the present borders of the union republics." A typical case of wishful thinking. The admission made by Voice of America that the democratization policy in the Soviet Union has "taken the majority of Sovietologists unaware" is very revealing, however. What is more, our ideological opponents are being forced to admit that nationality problems are possible in any multinational [mnogonatsionalnoye] state and that the Soviet Union is solving these problems "from the standpoint of common sense."

However, admissions like these certainly do not change the subversive aims of Western radio stations. Broadcasts on the problems of interethnic relations gamble on cultivating antisocialist sentiments from a nationalist standpoint in Soviet people. The greatest achievement of Soviet power—socialist internationalism—is portrayed by our opponents as nothing more than a "propaganda slogan." In an attempt to "open the eyes" of Soviet

national minorities, bourgeois propaganda appeals to people's religious feelings, imposing the thesis of alleged "persecution" in the USSR for religious beliefs. It has also imposed the hackneyed theses of "the increasing influence of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia which advocates holy war with the Soviet regime." All in the best traditions of bourgeois misrepresentation.

The events in Nagorno-Karabakh have very clearly revealed serious violations in the implementation of our Leninist nationalities policy and in internationalist education.

The time has now come to calmly and carefully weigh up and consider the events and particularly highlight the moral and ethical aspects of the problem. Politicians and propaganda workers are well aware that you need to create the image of a friend to be able to cultivate feelings of friendship. This is how the human mind works—only real knowledge of what a friend is can form a kind, friendly attitude to him. But do we know a great deal about each other in our multinational state? Unfortunately we know very little!

Studying the problems of interethnic relations, we discover that people are scandalously poorly informed about other people's history and culture—even when they constitute the dominant group in the union republics. This is a shortcoming of our system of education, ideology, and culture. Unfortunately, we have a considerably better knowledge of other peoples' history and their culture past and present than we do of the history and culture of our own fraternal peoples. We have hardly any centers of other people's cultures in the national republics. There are sectorial palaces of sport, departmental houses of culture, and so forth but even in Moscow, the capital of our motherland, there is not only an absence of houses of culture of the union republics—there is not even a unified all-union center, possibly a Palace of Culture of the Peoples of the USSR, which could go some way towards filling the gap of knowledge about many aspects of Soviet peoples' life and helping to bring them into contact with national history, culture, ethnic and ethical peculiarities, and national traditions.

Interethnic relations or, to be more precise, the culture of these relations, have been considerably harmed by the national stereotypes which are unfortunately the product of our art and literature as a whole: If hospitality is a traditional feature of a particular nationality it usually has an unrestrained mercenary motive, if it is warm-hearted it is definitely primitive, if it takes a critical approach it is certainly anti.... By virtue of their simplicity and primitivism these stereotypes are extremely tenacious, popular, and rapidly assimilated by the mass consciousness. Their initial seeming "innocence" develops into an established attitude toward a nation as a whole. This cannot be tolerated. A narrow perception of another people does enormous damage to the whole sphere of interethnic communication—a factor undoubtedly at work everywhere in any multinational society.

We do have problems in our national policy—serious problems. They have to be resolved comprehensively and for this reason the idea of forming a scientific center for the research of national problems in the Soviet Union which has been aired in the press has not arisen by chance. Indeed, regional institutes—the United States and Canada, the Far East, Africa, Latin America, Oriental Studies, and Western Europe—have existed and worked successfully for many years under the USSR Academy of Sciences. But there are still not even any plans to form an Institute of the Soviet Peoples, although the urgent need for such a scientific center came to a head a long time ago. Recent events have convincingly demonstrated the expediency and timeliness of forming such an institute.

They have revealed shortcomings in internationalist education and an intolerable starry-eyed idealism. It has long been persistently drummed into us that the problem of interethnic relations in the Soviet Union has been solved irreversibly, once and for all. Experience has introduced harsh changes to our slogans. We have consigned to oblivion the well-known principle that the international does not exclude, but presupposes the national, that real internationalism is built on the basis of genuine national patriotism, and that only respect for one's own people can cultivate respect for other peoples. Unfortunately, the dividing line between national and nationalist has often been eroded and facile labels have been very readily pinned on people.

Marxists have always given priority to the international over the national, but this approach must be dialectical and consider the interests of every people in international contact and in their correlation with general interests. Only respect for the rights and interests of individual peoples can ensure the steady functioning of the community as a whole.

We representatives of different ethnic groups do not only live in our own "small" motherland. Our great united motherland is the USSR. We work to the glory of the common cause, common ideas, and common aims. We are surprisingly keenly aware of belonging to everything "Soviet" whenever we come up against someone or something "not Soviet" and we are filled with a sense of pride for our own "Sovietness" (forgive me the neologism). And so any signs of national intolerance appear all the more inconceivable and monstrous as a result. Every Soviet individual, to whatever nationality he belongs and wherever he lives, bears a personal responsibility for the great friendship between the Soviet peoples that has stood the test of time.

Yes, there are difficulties, but there also ways to overcome them—real ways. All we have to do is stop, look back, and, after studying the past, walk into the future, free of the burden of errors.

Poll of Views on National Relations Published

PM1805091088 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 May 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 under the rubric "PRAVDA Express Poll: Life as It Really Is" and the heading "We Are All One Race...." a 2,400-word roundup of views on the subject of national relations in response to an editorial "express poll." Brief comments are quoted from 13 people "of various nationalities, ages, and professions," in which they draw on their own experience of contacts with people of different nationalities and republics within the Soviet Union in their work and family life. A Tatar living in Tashkent says that representatives of 30 different nations work "harmoniously" at his enterprise, but also notes the lack of opportunities for his children to learn the Tatar language; a worker from Riga says that "nationality is of no significance for promotion at work"; others talk about friends of different nationalities, intermarriage, and cooperation at work. The roundup concludes with a "Commentary by the Social Policy and Communist Education Department" of PRAVDA, which reads as follows:

"What do these remarks by various people show? First and foremost, how closely the destinies of the peoples living in our multifaceted country are interwoven, what a clear, genuine reality their economic and cultural community has become. This is not the 'internationalism of slogans' that in recent years got in the way of everyday life and prevented people from seeing the accumulated problems. The atmosphere of glasnost and democracy has helped to expose many imperfections and violations in relations between nations and enabled us to start talking openly about them so that we can set about consolidating these relations together. We have become convinced that internationalism does not reproduce itself 'of its own accord' in successive generations, that as society progresses and its economy and culture grow, changes also take place in the national self-awareness of every people, and therefore a renewal and enrichment of its relationship with others is also necessary.

"A person wants to take a pride in his people, his historical roots, and has a right to do so. That is a beneficial desire, given the essential understanding that in the Soviet state each nation's development is the guarantee of the growth of our nationwide dignity and that in turn, no 'self-development' is possible outside that community.

"It is well known that a CPSU Central Committee plenum will discuss the problems of improving national relations in the country. But surely party and soviet organs, economic leaders, and public organizations should take account of this aspect of the matter today, in adopting management decisions and in their daily work? It is no accident that in responding to PRAVDA's express poll, people talk about all kinds of rumors that are 'doing the rounds' and about how the customs and traditions of different peoples coexist in daily life. Why are such rumors born, how do they survive? Are we always attentive enough to each other's national feelings? Do we cultivate skillfully in our children resepct and interest toward the culture of their compatriots of different nations? All these questions concern everyone. And that means it is up to us to ensure that free discussion of urgent problems in the sphere of national relations does not lead to recurrences of national discord.

"It is important to remember that in our country there are and can be no unresolved contradictions between nations. Any issue is a matter for our democracy, our conscience, our will. And we will not allow anyone to sow disputes among us or distract us from the chief task—the restructuring of our common socialist home."

Repatriation of Crimean Tatars Described

AU1705130288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 May 88 p 3

[Interview with A.M. Roshchupkin, Crimean Oblispolkom chairman, by A. Gorobets in Simferopol: "Brotherhood Is More Valuable Than Wealth"; date not given—boldface as published]

[Text] **A conversation was held recently in the Crimean Oblispolkom office with a group of Crimean Tatars who had ben formally recruited and had arrived from Uzbekistan. Our correspondent met with A.M. Roshchupkin, oblispolkom chairman, and asked him to answer several questions in this context.**

[A. Gorobets] Aleksandr Mefodievich, what do you have to say on this occasion?

[A.M. Roshchupkin] Life has convincingly proven that relations among nationalities rank among the most sensitive and complex problems. But in the process of restructuring and democratizing Soviet society even these problems can be settled. The events which recently took place in our oblast are evidence of this. We received a group of Crimean Tatars had who arrived from Uzbekistan. They have gone to steppe rayons to join kolkhoz and sovkhoz construction teams and to build resettlement houses for their families.

Let me point out immediately that the problem of labor resources is nonexistent in Crimean Oblast. Since 1978, we have not recruited from the population in other oblasts of the country, and instead we have resettled people within the oblast. Moreover, in accordance with forecasts made by scientists and experts, about 20,000 oblast workers—one-half of them in the system of the agro-industrial complex—will be let go in the near future because of scientific-technological progress, the certification of workplaces, and restructuring in the management mechanisms. This notwithstanding, the oblast's party and administrative organs have found it possible to resettle Crimean Tatars in the Crimean steppe rayons. This was a result of the efforts made by the party and the

government in order that not one single nationality of our multinational homeland would feel any restrictions. At the same time, in examining these kind of problems, it is essential to bear in mind state interests, real conditions, and the situation.

Would it be wise, humane, and state-like to succumb to individual extremist citizens from among the Crimean Tatars and to carry out a mass resettlement? After all, every Crimean Tatar family living in other oblasts of our republic, in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, in Kuban, or another region is provided with everything necessary, first of all with a dwelling, and the adult population is provided with jobs.

[A. Gorobets] You probably wanted to say that the migration of the population should be regulated and governed by certain laws of social development?

[A.M. Roshchupkin] Otherwise it is neither possible to simply live and work normally, nor to hope that the plans drawn by the 27th CPSU Congress would be implemented. I say this also because our oblast's waiting list for dwellings amounts to 145,000 families.

[A. Gorobets] But the decision on the organized resettlement of some citizens from among the Crimean Tatars has been adopted nonetheless.

[A.M. Roshchupkin] I would like to emphasize once again that this is an organized resettlement. We are planning to receive in the current year a total of 300 families. This number includes 200 families from Uzbekistan, and 100 families who have moved to the Crimea before but, for one reason or another, have neither been provided with dwellings or jobs, nor have they been registered.

By an oblispolkom decision, the resettlers will be distributed among the following eight rayons: Belogorskiy, Dzhankoyskiy, Kirovskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, Krasnoperakopskiy, Nizhnegorskiy, Pervomayskiy, and Sovietskiy. The first 30 houses will receive the resettlers as early as the end of May. Funds for the housing construction have been allotted by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and some building materials will be drawn from local resources. A great deal will depend on the personal participation of the people resettled in the construction of the settlement and in providing streets with services and utilities.

[A. Gorobets] By the way, how do you select families for resettlement?

[A.M. Roshchupkin] We are in close touch with a working commission set up in Uzbekistan where many Crimean Tatars are concentrated, and with representatives of the Crimean Tatars. The selection for organized resettlement is being made by the organs of the Uzbek State Committee for Labor. Those selected are primarily representatives of the Crimean Tatar population who are the most worthy, who have proven themselves well in work and public life, and who are without fail recommended by labor collectives, and by oblast- and republic-level commissions formed by representatives of the Crimean Tatars.

[A. Gorobets] In connection with the increase in the Crimean Tatar population, measures have apparently been taken to more fully meet the cultural needs of these people.

[A.M. Roshchupkin] Conditions are being provided in culture houses and clubs for developing national folk creativity. Oblast tours were organized for Crimean Tatar ensembles, the "Haytarma" and the "Efsane," from Uzbekistan.

Libraries have been stocked with books by Crimean Tatar authors. For this purpose the oblast organization for the trade in books has established direct relations with the T. Gulyam Publishing House in Tashkent. Books under 22 titles in the national language and by Crimean Tatar authors have been delivered to bookstores. This number includes works of prose by Sh. Aladin, Yu. Bolot, I. Umerov, as well as works by other writers and poets.

Crimean Tatar families were allowed to subscribe to the newspaper LENIN BAYRAGY and the journal YYLDYZ published in the national language. The subscribers totaled more than 1,500.

The oblast mass media have expanded the number of publications and broadcasts about the way representatives of the Crimean Tatars live and work. All oblast people know at present about the exploits of Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Ahmet-han Sultan, about the participant in the Great Patriotic War D.O. Velilyayev and his family, and about the internationalist soldier Osman Ismaylov. A publication about the gallant partisan Seydal Kursentov, cruelly tortured to death by the fascists, inspired a patriotic initiative of young workers of the "Foton" production association in Simferopol, who incorporated Seydal in their collective, and credited the Peace Fund with his wages. The association's Komsomol members placed a memorial plaque at the site of his death.

Central publishing houses are preparing materials about the history of the Crimean Tatars, including in the post-revolutionary period.

The study of the national language has been allotted an important place among the measures planned to invigorate the cultural life of the Crimean Tatar population. Voinskaya and Novopavlovskaya schools in Krasnoperekopskiy Rayon, and Mazanskaya school in Simferopolskiy Rayon have added to their curricula 10 optional subjects. In the new school year their number will increase. The oblast's higher and technical schools have 152 Crimean Tatar students, including 47 freshmen.

[A. Gorobets] It is known that, in a number of extremist enunciations made by individual citizens from among the Crimean Tatars, the demand was raised to give their so-called envoys leading posts.

[A.M. Roshchupkin] Yes, there was such a demand. It goes without saying, it was absolutely unacceptable, particularly in the epoch of restructuring, of expanding democracy and the rights of labor collectives. Present leaders are being elected, and not appointed. The right to spearhead a collective has to be won with one's work, with an attentive treatment of people, and not by one's national affiliation.

A large Pervomayskiy Rayon sovkhoz, the "Alekseyevskiy," was recently divided into two farms. A.M. Tippa, former sovkhoz chief agronomist, a non-party member from among the Crimean Tartars, has spearheaded one of the two farms. Ahtem Muzafarovich was not appointed to this high post, but elected by people. Is it not an illustration showing how similar questions should be settled under the conditions of restructuring and of expanding glasnost and democracy? Not without reason there is the folksaying that brotherhood is more valuable than any wealth.

Murakhovskiy Chairs Baykal Environment Forum

PM1705121388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Attention and Concern for Nature"]

[Text] A routine session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources was held 16 May.

The commission examined and basically approved a draft general concept for development of production forces in the Lake Baykal basin. The draft concept was developed on instructions from the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers by the USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gosstroy, and RSFSR Council of Ministers with the participation of the USSR Academy of Sciences and interested ministries and departments and contains a package of organizational and economic measures necessary to ensure the conservation and rational use of natural resources in the Lake Baykal basin in the process of the region's economic and social development.

The commission deemed it expedient to discuss the draft concept extensively in the press.

After definitive completion the draft concept will be sent to the Buryat ASSR Council of Ministers, the Irkutsk and Chita Oblispolkoms, and the ministries and departments with enterprises in the Lake Baykal basin as a guideline in developing the region's production forces.

There was an examination of the measures which are being taken by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building to develop and introduce methods and means of reducing discharges of nitrous oxides at thermal power stations. The volumes of atmospheric discharges of nitrous oxides, formed mainly during the combustion of various types of fuel, are constantly growing and have increased by 500,000 tonnes compared with 1981.

The commission drew the attention of USSR ministers A.I. Mayorets and V.M. Velichko to the need for a fundamental improvement in the organization of work on the prevention of the pollution of the atmosphere with nitrous oxide discharges from thermal power stations and instructed the USSR Ministries of Power and Electrification and of Heavy and Power Machine Building to elaborate in 1988, with the participation of the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and other interested ministries and departments, and implement a gradual program for resolving the problem.

The commission session was chaired by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

'Native Language' Festival in Poltava

AU1605095188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 May 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "From the Springs of the Native Language"]

[Text] The poetic words: "Grow stronger, our beautiful language, among the beautiful sisterly languages" were used as a motto at the republic-level native language festival held recently in Poltava. In opening the festival, Yuriy Mushketik, first secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union, noted that the celebrations being held this year were a kind of introduction to an extensive festive program. It is significant that it was inaugurated in Poltava Oblast which has given a large cohort of well known men of letters, philologists, and prominent artists.

On the eve of the festival the poets, novelists, literary and other critics visited educational institutions in the city, and had talks on the place held by the native language in the education of the younger generation.

A meeting with the writers was held in Poltava Obkom headquarters. A.S. Myakota, obkom first secretary, told the audience about the way the oblast was restructuring and settling its problems in economic, social, and cultural development.

A literary and art soiree was held in the Assembly Hall of the V.G. Korolenko State Pedagogic Institute in Poltava. It was addressed by Boris Oleynik, secretary of the board

of the Ukrainian Writers Union; Leonid Novichenko, litarary critic, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; Ivan Drach, first secretary of Kiev city writers organization; Aleksandr Chucha, responsible secretary of Poltava city organization of the Ukrainian Writers Union; and other prominent writers. They candidly and frankly spoke of the need to purify and enrich the native language, and to boost its importance in internationalist and patriotic education, particularly in the education of young people.

The soiree was arrange within the framework of the second republic-level children's folklore festival. It was a display of poetry and prose, sparkling humor and sharp satire, ancient folk and modern Ukrainian and Russian songs, and, of course, dances.

Present at the native language festival were M.A. Orlik, chairman of the organizational committee for holding the third all-union folk art festival in the Ukraine and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; B.V. Ivanenko, Culture Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and M.V. Fomenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of education.

Dushanbe All-Union Conference on Islam Ends

PM1705132988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unnamed TASS correspondent's dispatch: "Scientific Conference"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 May—An all-union scientific-theoretical conference on "Islam and Politics" ended its work in Dushanbe today. Orientalists, philosophers, historians, and jurists from Moscow and Leningrad and from the capitals of Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics examined the role of the religious factor in the sociopolitical processes in oriental countries. The meeting was organized by the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Association for Political Sciences.

The conference participants analyzed from Marxist positions such contradictory phenomena as Islamic fundamentalism and Muslim extremism and their position in the context of the international situation. The state of Islamic studies in the Soviet Union was critically assessed.

Sokolov, Ryabov Address Belorussian Plenum

PM1805102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondents A. Simurov and A. Ulitenok report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Minsk, 13 May—A Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has been held here to discuss the question "On the Republic Party Organizations' Tasks in Improving Public Education and Providing Ideological Backing for Restructuring in Accordance with the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum Decisions." A report was given by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

V.V. Ryabov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, took part in the plenum's work.

Postponement of Party Conference Suggested

PM1805084188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 88 p 2

[Own correspondent V. Fomin dispatch under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Are We Rushing Matters?"—first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Excerpts] No event in the country's social life today is more important than the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference. Those who are to assemble in the Kremlin are expected to express a collective opinion on how democratization and glasnost are to develop in the future and how protection for the ideas and principles of restructuring are to be ensured. Who will the conference delegates, now in the process of being elected, turn out to be? This question perturbs everybody. We are, after all, talking not just about labor front-rankers, eminent scientists and famous writers, or Soviet and party officials, but about people with new thinking and revolutionary views, political fighters capable of rebuffing conservatism and stagnation. The election of such delegates demands broad glasnost and serious discussion of every candidate's political and moral stance.

But reports arriving in the editorial office unfortunately testify that a completely different procedure for nomination of candidates has emerged in a number of places. The old, proven, bureaucratic apparatus procedure: Formal instructions, backstage selection of candidates, coordination by telephone. This kind of election runs contrary to the goals and tasks of the conference and the expectations that are linked with it.

In its last issue, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published a dispatch on this topic from our own correspondent in Rostov-na-Donu. Today we carry his followup article.

Rostov-na-Donu—There has been animated preparation in Rostov for the 19th all-union party conference.

On the morning of 11 May I received telephone calls from the organizational department chiefs of two party gorkoms—Rostov and Novocherkassk—informing me that a guidance conference had finally been held at the party obkom and they had been ordered to start nominating candidates for party conference delegates. [passage omitted]

My dear comrades! What is actually happening to us? A candidate to be a delegate to the all-union party conference has been nominated essentially without any discussion. And are the first 40 votes actually valid?

No matter whom you meet today, no matter where you go—the arguments and the conversations are identical: What will life be like in the future, which path should be followed? So many "sore spots"—both past and present. About Stalinism, about the causes of administrative edict methods, bureaucratism, protectionism, bribery.

Not a single word about any of this in the process of preparing for the conference and mandating your candidate?! And this was actually happening in Rostov, which was the scene of "trade network cases" and a criminal's lavish funeral, where child mortality is high, where the ecological situation is complex and steadily deteriorating, where a solid mechanism of protectionism has taken shape....

Not to say a single word, not to ask your candidate about his views on restructuring and the renewal of our society's political system? How are the economy and the spiritual life to develop in the future—along Stalin's or along Lenin's line?

Not a single word about this, either?

Just like many others, inspired by the fresh April breezes of 1985, I had the impression that such meetings before the all-union conference ought to consolidate all of society's healthy forces and should jointly furnish their delegate with the necessary vision of the problems so that he, our emissary, could be in a position not just to record his presence in the hall of the Palace of Congresses but also to participate in the elaboration of the line for our future life.

And none of this is taking place?...

I do not understand.

Not only do I not understand, I actually find it shameful and painful to sit in the hall. After all, the point at issue concerned a candidate and potential delegate who would also represent me. And it transpires that I would be accidentally to blame if, in the event of his being elected, he went to the conference not just partially armed but maybe even totally unarmed. But how much actually depends on people like me, Communists on the roll of smaller party organizations? When and where will we be able to take part in the nomination and discussion process, with just a few days left before the party obkom plenum? And what are the choices left to party members like me? There is, after all, just one candidate.

Why is it that those present at the candidate's nomination are so passive, so indifferent to what is taking place before their very eyes? I am convinced that each one of them, individually, would behave differently. Each one has his own point of view on the progress of restructuring at the plant, in the oblast, in the country.

Why are they keeping silent? The Lenin Plant workers, the guardsmen of the Rostov proletariat!

Tell me, what have we actually achieved if we prove to be so helpless when it comes to actions requiring no capital investment but just organizational and propaganda efforts?

You experience fear when you take part in such an action. It is much more fearsome and irresponsible than attending a criminal's lavish funeral: You could actually be burying not only yourself but the entire restructuring.

Let me voice a seditious idea which kept gnawing at me during the meeting. Could it be that we are not quite ready to hold an all-union party conference? Are we rushing matters? Should we not postpone it for a month or two, publish theses, and offer a positive, restructuring forces' platform for a broad nationwide discussion which would produce candidates capable of making correct decisions at the present, crucial time?

P.S.: The telephone in the correspondent's office has not stopped ringing for several days now:

"Thank you for what you've written. You've hit the nail on the head."

An emotional voice:

"This is the Bataysk party gorkom. A meeting of the gorkom apparatus party organization has just nominated a single candidate from our town—the party gorkom first secretary."

An identical telephone call from Neklinovskiy Rayon where, just as in Bataysk, the raykom apparatus unanimously voted for a single candidate—the party raykom first secretary.

The caller sounds perplexed:

"Surely the secretary's nomination could be put forward and discussed on one of the kolkhozes or sovkhozes? What are they afraid of? That someone might suggest another candidate?"

The telephone keeps ringing....

Delegates to Party Conference 'Recommended'

PM1805093188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
14 May 88 p 1

[Unnamed TASS correspondent dispatches specially for TRUD: "Trust in the Best. The Discussion of Candidate Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Has Begun Openly, Taking Into Consideration People's Opinions"]

[Excerpts] Consultation Before the Plenum [subhead]

"Which of the Communists will best be able to work at the partywide forum on the elaboration of the main directions for the acceleration of restructuring?"—this was the question which the Kaluga CPSU Obkom put to primary party organizations, workers, kolkhoz workers, and employees.

The "Signal" Instrument Plant is the largest industrial enterprise in Obninsk, the city with the world's first AES. Communists, nonparty people, members of the plant's labor collective council, and representatives of social organizations and the administration assembled in the workshop.

"It is very important for principled people with a knowledge of working people's concerns to take part in the work of the conference," A. Kamayev, CPSU Gorkom first secretary, said. "The Gorkom Bureau believes there is a man in your workshop who matches up to these demands: He is milling machine operator V. Pichugin. Delegates to the conference will be elected at a plenum of the CPSU Obkom, but we want to consult you today. Express your opinion of your work comrade."

No one viewed the fact that the gorkom first secretary had not been duplicitous but had immediately named the proposed candidate as an attempt to foist the "right man" on them. The meeting participants particularly valued the trusting appeal to them since V. Pichugin is a well-known person at the plant: He was elected chairman of the plant labor collective council in February.

V. Pichugin is an advanced worker and high-class machine tool operator. For many years he was the chairman of the trade union shop committee. He is active, principled, and independent—this was how he was described by turner A. Kozinkin, fitter V. Klimenko, deputy chief engineer Yu. Griboyedov, and other speakers.

His work comrades did not attempt to idealize V. Pichugin but they "stuck up for him" when turner A. Shaposhnikov, secretary of the shop party bureau, proposed another candidate—the workshop chief. Engineer A. Ulyanov expressed the opinion of the majority:

"Our chief is a knowledgeable and energetic man, but let's recommend a worker nonetheless. He will be able to speak out on matters and will stand up for our interests."

No minutes were kept at the meeting and its decisions were not written down but it was firmly proposed that V. Pichugin be included in the oblast delegation to the 19th all-union party conference and not a single objection was raised—Shaposhnikov agreed with the majority.

The meeting participants ordered A. Kamayev, party obkom member, to inform the participants in the oblast plenum of their opinion. [passage omitted]

Unanimously [subhead]

Communists and nonparty people came to the hall of the labor glory museum at the Kishinev "Elektrotochpribor" Plant for an open party meeting after work. On the agenda was the discussion of candidacy for nomination as a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference.

The meeting was opened by A. Sarakuts, secretary of the party committee. He announced that a meeting of the rayon party aktiv had unanimously adopted the proposal that Stanislav Ivanovich Fomin, member of the party raykom bureau and mechanical assembly fitter at the "Elektrotochpribor" Plant, be recommended for nomination as a delegate.

"I don't understand why we only have one candidate," workshop repairman Yu. Gurov stated. "Fomin is a good specialist but we must have a choice. Once again it is the old familiar story— 'a recommendation has been made.'"

"You mustn't think that a candidate is being imposed on you," V. Muntyanu, Dnestrovskiy party raykom second secretary, retorted. "At today's aktiv conference we decided how to choose from our thousands of Communists the person who would be able to worthily represent the working class of the city and the republic at the conference."

"The aktiv supported this proposal," V. Buga, leader of a team of fitters at the No 4 Plant for Reinforced Concrete Articles and Large-panel Housing Construction and member of the raykom bureau, said. "We have come here to consult you: Can Fomin be nominated as a delegate to the all-union party conference? If you think that there are worthier candidates—propose them and we will discuss them..."

"Yes, he can," was the unanimous opinion.

S.I. Fomin made a speech to the meeting. He described how he fulfills his duties as member of the party raykom bureau and his social and production work.

The party meeting unanimously resolved to recommend S. Fomin as a candidate delegate to the 19th all-union party conference and ask the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum to consider this proposal.

Thus S.I. Fomin, 47-year-old fitter at the plant, received a vote of confidence from his work comrades.

PRAVDA Chief Editor Afanasyev Interviewed

AU1705145188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 May 88 p 4

[Interview with Academician Viktor Afanasyev, chief editor of Moscow PRAVDA, by RUDE PRAVO Moscow correspondent Lubor Kazda: "Imbuing Socialism With New Breath"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The effort popularly called perestroyka [Russian word used], restructuring, has been a preoccupation for Soviet society for 3 years now. What is involved are, without doubt, weighty, far-reaching changes, the important milestone of which was the 27th CPSU Congress, and the All-Union CPSU Conference to be convened on 28 June will be a no less important event. What has been really achieved in the meantime, what is expected from the conference whose importance is being generally spoken about? We discussed this on the even of the May holidays with Academician Victor Afanasyev, chief editor of the daily PRAVDA, whom we have, for the third time, asked for an interview on the subject of Soviet restructuring.

[Kazda] Two years ago you gave RUDE PRAVO the first, and a year ago—precisely in May—the second interview on how the restructuring process in the Soviet Union is developing. How did it develop last year?

[Afanasyev] This policy, this strategy has been implemented in practice since the April 1985 session of the CPSU Central Committee. In the first stage we concentrated on the necessary theoretical evaluation of the entire concept. Now we have entered an incomparably more complex period. People expect tangible results from restructuring. This is natural.

[Kazda] Do they exist? Where do you see them?

[Afanasyev] Partial results of social change are appearing in all spheres. But if I am to begin with the most important, which is the economy, I must say that despite positive trends a fundamental turn toward a new dynamism has not occurred yet. There are more reasons for it. The new mechanism, which is being introduced, does not, so far, operate comprehensively and its parts are not "run-in" yet. At the same time we are demolishing the old, outdated methods of management. All this is taking place within the framework of a 5-year plan launched in accordance with a number of parameters of the earlier economic methods. The old clashes with the new. It is a struggle.

The results in the social sphere are clearer now. The strategic turn toward social programs made at the 27th congress is being given concrete substance—you know that we are improving wage conditions in a number of professions and branches, for example in the health services. We are also improving the old age pensions system. A substantial improvement is that more apartments are becoming available, as for example, last year 17 percent more compared with 1986. I believe the most important result of restructuring to date has been that the party has succeeded in politically activating a great number of people.

[Kazda] How does it appear?

[Afanasyev] It is exhibited by the unprecedented interest in public affairs. The public has not only begun to attentively follow what is going on, but has also begun to participate in politics in ever greater numbers. Changes are meeting with a lively response and are receiving mighty support, something which is exceptionally important. The civic activity of intellectuals, especially from the humanitarian sphere, is especially great. Glasnost—broad information, an open policy, has begun to function as a new norm in our lives. I do not want to say that it has already become the norm everywhere and in every respect, but we are on the way to this. One can easily convince himself of the unusual openness of the atmosphere, for example, from the Soviet press, which in those 2 years of restructuring has made a leap forward.

[Kazda] You mentioned glasnost, that is, public information. By what rules does PRAVDA abide on implementing this principle in its pages?

[Afanasyev] Glasnost has a clear codex—socialism, its interests, its benefit, its framework.

[Kazda] Has the nature of the relationship between your daily and the reader changed, have the mutual ties changed?

[Afanasyev] It is much livelier, more immediate [bezprostrednejsi], more creative. Evidence of this is the number and content of letters we have been receiving. We used to receive roughly 500,000 letters annually. The figure is close to 800,000 now and that is an avalanche.

[Kazda] What do the writers of these letters mainly want?

[Afanasyev] A great number of readers are simply expressing their support for CPSU policy. Many add their proposals, ideas, recommendations, wishes of how to improve various things, how to better effect various changes. There are increasing responses to our articles. That means that people are deeply thinking about how to improve socialism, and since they formulate it in specific proposals, one can see their trust that the party creates conditions for this activity from the bottom. There are letters that warn against slowing down the pace, against stopping half-way, letters that want to see the planned changes carried out to the end. We have also been receiving very practical letters.

[Kazda] What do the letters focus on?

[Afanasyev] People complain most about the shortage of a number of different foodstuffs. Unfortunately, we have not yet implemented our food program. The public is annoyed that, so far, restructuring has not resulted in improved supplies. People criticize health and other services, education, problems with housing. They draw attention to cases of the violation of laws, persecution for criticism. Despite this being arduous work, we really do pay proper attention to all letters. We publish them, we check them, we devote ourselves to them, we send reporters to the field on the basis of them. It is symptomatic that anonymous letters have almost disappeared.

[Kazda] Did this happen after the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the well-known resolution not to regard anonymous letters as objective complaints?

[Afanasyev] Yes, but I have to say that anonymous letters had become scarcer before that. This is another sign of the new social atmosphere. People are not afraid to sign their names even to the aforementioned sharply critical letters. They want concrete rectification and they are straightening up.

[Kazda] It may be that many people did not expect restructuring to be such a tough and tenacious struggle, that the fight for the new will become aggravated and dramatic at times....

[Afanasyev] Yes, the current struggle in society is really tempestuous. You might ask: Why, when the overwhelming majority of people is for restructuring? This really is the case. But the practical realization of the projections of restructuring reflects like a mirror to what extent a person is prepared to assert the concept of restructuring and, in particular, to begin this assertion with himself. Many people, who intuitively favor restructuring, still do not know how to go about it. Our task is to help them discover this. Others are hesitating; they are in favor of restructuring and its ideals, but the fact that they do not see enough tangible results from the process makes them doubt it, makes them unsure, and dampens their activity. Therefore, it is extremely important to openly take notice of these doubts, not to silence them, but—on the contrary—give them vent and seriously, calmly, and with well-founded arguments react to them, explain, persuade, and win over. There also is a group of people who are literally marking their time: What if it is again some sort of a one-shot campaign, we had better wait to see how it will end. Those who are on the verge of retirement might have lost interest in striving for changes; they are no longer capable of starting anew. Then there are, of course, also people to whom restructuring demolishes the "preserve" which they have created for themselves, their privileges, their way of life.... Therefore, clashes are something natural and logical. At the same time, you will obviously not find anyone declaring publicly that he is against restructuring because it deprives him of his prestige and comfort. Take a look, for example, at the discussion which has developed around the article by Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA some time ago, and you will see what a polarization of views restructuring engenders. That article has exposed a sort of essence of the "philosophy" of the antirestructuring attitudes. The typical characteristic in it was that it did not contain a single positive alternative proposal nor did suggest some other possible manner of development than restructuring, with which it, in fact, engages in polemics. PRAVDA responded to similar attitudes on 5 April with a long and forceful editorial on the objectives and values of restructuring. Perhaps it might not have even been necessary to react with such forcefulness to Nina Andreyeva's article, had it not appeared in a period of intensive preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and had not some people—in view of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's authority as one of the central organs—begun to ponder whether the Andreyeva article is not some sort of veiled "directive" to halt restructuring. This is how profoundly the old thinking has become rooted in the minds of some people. This, too, explains the acrimony of the conflicts surrounding the implementation of restructuring.

[Kazda] Thus, in these discussions do you see normal polemics, arising from the momentous nature of the changes that are starting to take place?

[Afanasyev] One has to get used to a frank exchange of views. However, the main thing is that, in terms of its final effect, this should concentrate on concrete work and not be a distraction from it, and should prevent false speculation. I often receive journalists from Western countries who, by their questions, are trying to come forward with assertions about alleged "conflicts" in our highest political leadership. I regularly attend sessions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, during which serious debates, discussions, as well as comradely disputes are conducted. Views are being clarified, something which is absolutely natural and fully in line with the Leninist tradition. However, discussions do not concern the issue: Restructuring—yes or no? This is what I would like to stress. But we are clarifying methods of dealing with various problems, deadlines, specific forms, and ways. Some issues are not decided immediately. They are studied and thought through again. The Politburo sometimes even returns to them three times. But then a solution is found which is considered optimal, and a resolution is adopted which everyone—in accordance with our principles—must fulfill. Thus, the aforementioned speculations by a part of the Western press are quite incorrect.

[Kazda] The preparations for the All-Union CPSU Conference are oriented toward forms of improving the Soviet political system. What in particular will be involved?

[Afanasyev] For example, procedural changes in elections to the soviets, but not only to the soviets. We contemplate restructuring the party work and the work of the party bodies.

[Kazda] According to various articles published in PRAVDA and other dailies, one can expect many changes, especially regarding the improvement of the party's work in society....

[Afanasyev] It is necessary, above all, to consistently and precisely separate the functions of party agencies from the functions of the soviets and the activity of ranking economic personnel. After all, the party should not concentrate its energy on directly managing production, but should have its hand on the issue of cadres and on the ideological levers to assert the party policy, and not duplicate the soviets or ministries. It is extremely important to find effective means of keeping a check on those who have been entrusted with public posts. We no longer have a personality cult in our country, thank the Lord, but we do still have enough, and even too many, of the diverse "little cults" among officials at various levels. And it is not only in the party structure that the "first man" in a district or region at times feels, as the saying goes, that he is equal to God. Therefore, we must find not only a suitable mechanism for democratic elections, but also the means of recalling him in time, and thus preventing the further survival of the "cult of omnipotence," be it in the regional administration, the economic structures, or in the party and its apparatus. There is no doubt that this is going to be a very difficult task. But we are already working on it intensively, we are contemplating it, we are conducting public discussions, and the Central Committee of our party is also addressing itself to this. This will be one of the important issues concerning the further democratization of party life. The preparations for the conference constitute an opportunity to compile—by means of the press, for example—the greatest possible number of different proposals and suggestions, and this is something to which the conference should pay attention. What is involved is the collating, the cataloging of people's opinions and of all constructive suggestions which can help our development.

[Kazda] You mentioned the work of the soviets. Why do they not completely fulfill the important role intended by Lenin?

[Afanasyev] In some respects, the sediment of formalism has settled not only on the elections to the soviets, but also on the work of the soviets. Thus, we face the great task of paying a lot of attention to the problems of the soviets. By the way, PRAVDA will have a special rubric in which we want to study all these problems on various levels, beginning with the village soviets and ending with the Supreme Soviet. An experimental election was held last year. We were trying out elections according to a multiple-mandate principle. The results are not bad. It can be assumed that the next elections will generally be multiple-mandate elections.

[Kazda] The Soviet press often writes about effective instruments which are necessary to overcome the influences of the so-called braking mechanism of restructuring. What ones do you regard as being decisive?

[Afanasyev] The main and most effective weapon against retarding influences lies in broadening democracy and the flow of public information. Presently, all efforts are being concentrated on making people feel like real managers of their country. To achieve this it is necessary, among other things, to find guarantees so that neither the party nor the state apparatus is able to rise above elected bodies and thus actually dodge the control of the party ranks and people's masses. In short, the apparatus must be oriented not "upwards" but "downwards," and it must feel dependent upon the collective. Therefore, one of the especially urgent issues which are being discussed within the framework of the preparations for the conference are steps aimed at introducing a functioning system of the broadest possible control from the bottom. Specific forms have not been determined, but voices are increasing proposing restoration, among other things, of the CPSU Central Control Commission in the Leninist mold. To put it concisely—we must create a sufficiently reliable and extensive system of democratic guarantees for the development of society and, at the same time, for effective control, which would be directly connected with these guarantees.

[Kazda] PRAVDA pays considerable attention to the clarification of Soviet history. By doing this it undoubtedly reacts to the wave of interest which this subject engenders. What path does your daily wish to take?

[Afanasyev] The path of consistent and responsible documentation. We do not recognize any "construing" ["domysleni"] of history. Our path is that of facts, documents. However, at the same time we want to—by means of portraits of personalities—show a living, "peopled" history. This is a very demanding job. Our Pages of History, in which we want to cast light onto the so-called blank spots of history, have elicited great attention among readers. We devoted three entire PRAVDA pages to Lenin's political legacy. We wrote about the Prague party conference and we have prepared further materials, for example on the October Revolution.

[Kazda] Does not this sudden intensive preoccupation with historical problems involve the risk of lessening the attention paid to the present, to topical problems?

[Afanasyev] As long as this is not "history for history's sake," a self-serving purpose, then the answer is no. What is involved is systematically linking historical

findings with the present, continuity, drawing on historical experience and historical lessons. Yes, there also have been voices asking "why these returns to the past?" They concern, in particular, the complex and painful pages of Soviet history. Concern is being expressed as to whether by doing this we are not rubbing salt into our own wounds, as to whether we do not inflict harm on our own country in the eyes of foreigners, and such like. However, we urgently need a thorough, truthful, and profound clarification and comprehension of the path of our history. First, because without understanding history there cannot be patriotism. Without the truth, without the full and undistorted truth, we will not cleanse the social atmosphere. And we know that we will not win the trust—and this particularly applies to the young generation—if we will not speak the truth, no matter how difficult this might be. What I mean is a frank discussion about our mistakes and tragedies which our country experienced and which cannot be erased. Second, we must learn the lesson for our further path not to repeat anything that has already harmed us once before. The J.V. Stalin personality cult was a phenomenon alien in socialism, the same as the instances of the gross violation of socialist legality. That was not inevitable, as our opponents are occasionally trying to convince the world. We simply must know well what to deduce from history or its lessons. I stress that it is necessary to conduct the discussion about history responsibly, with facts and documents, without sensation-seeking. This is what we, in PRAVDA, strive for.

[Kazda] The press, within the framework of its possibilities, fills the vacuum in historical literature to date. Will the new books, for which there is such a great demand, be published soon?

[Afanasyev] The CPSU Central Committee has set up three working teams which are writing new textbooks of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, and the CPSU history. The teams are headed by Academician Frolov; Vadim Medvedev, M.S.Gorbachev's assistant and secretary of the CPSU's Central Committee; and by Academician Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee. A new edition of Lenin's Collected Works will be published. It will contain many hundrerds of new documents. Passages which were formerly published in an abbreviated form will be published in full. In addition to Lenin's works, we will also publish the views of those who worked and had disputes with Lenin—for example, we will publish Bukharin's works and such like. But a book cannot be published in a single day.

[Kazda] At a recent consultation held by the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, thoughts resounded about the necessity to restore to socialism its international attractiveness. What tasks arise from this?

[Afanasyev] Foreign-political and domestic-political tasks. To continue the peaceful struggle for the survival of mankind, for the safety of the planet, for peace and cooperation. The new political thinking has met with an immense positive response and is yielding results. However, we clearly realize that this is not enough, that socialism has lost its attractiveness in the eyes of many people in the world because of our numerous domestic, internal problems and shortcomings.

Thus, restoring to socialism its magnetism, its attractiveness to the world, means that the struggle for peace must be accompanied by positive developments within socialism—by a dynamic economy, strengthening social justice, intensifying the achievements of socialist democracy, broadening the scope for the assertion of people's creative energy, fulfilling their ideas about a full, fruitful life. This is our program. This is the program of restructuring which we are working to realize.

[Kazda] I thank you for the interview.

Limited Tenure of Elective Party Office Urged

PM1705143388 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 88 p 2

[Article by CPSU member V. Sergeyev: "Make Way for the Young"]

[Text] The press has recently been publishing proposals concerning the democratization both of society and of the party. Most frequently, however, they concern the activity of party grassroots and "middle-level" bodies. But as to the higher party echelons, we speak timidly. In my view, however, it is with these that we should begin. Democracy "down below" will become effective when upper echelons set an example in this process. In this connection I have some views which I would like to share with readers.

There is no denying that, for some people among us, elective party and public activity has become tenure for life. The roots of various stagnation deformations also lie, as it were, in this sphere. It is sufficient to recall the rogues like Rashidov, Medunov, Shchelokov, Churbanov, and so forth, who were entrenched around L.I. Brezhnev. If L.I. Brezhnev were alive now, they would still be in their posts. I could cite similar examples of people a rank lower. In short, the holding of elective party and also state offices and posts for decades promises nothing good. Therefore I propose that:

Secretaries of primary party organizations be elected for no more than three terms in succession with a subsequent 5-year break if there is the intention of making further use of them as party leaders;

Secretaries of party committees with the rights of raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and the CPSU Central Committee be elected for no more than two terms.

Now about the composition of the CPSU Central Committee. I have before me a newspaper for 7 March 1986 with the composition of the CPSU Central Committee

elected at the 27th party congress. In all, more than 300 people. Let us see who they are. Apart from the Politburo members and the Central Committee secretaries, they are secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees, obkom first secretaries, USSR ministers, chairmen of union committees, and their deputies. There is an unjustifiably large number of marshals and generals. In addition, they are all, as a rule, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. But V.I. Lenin long ago raised the question of increasing the number of workers on the Central Committee. Few workers from industry and representatives of agricultural production were elected to the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th congress. The result is that almost all Central Committee members are prominent leaders. I propose electing more ordinary workers to the Central Committee.

And it would be still better, in my view, to reduce the number of leading officials on the Central Committee by approximately one-half and replace them by ordinary Communists. Would it be possible to elect not the minister but a worker from an enterprise of that ministry? This will be a better option in all respects. In addition, it is not at all obligatory to elect Central Committee department chiefs and even deputy chiefs to the Central Committee or as candidate members of the Central Committee.

And a final point: on reducing the age of the top party and other leadership.

Academician I.M. Mayskiy points out in his memoirs that practically all leaders in Britain have finished their official activity at the age of 60. Consequently, key leading posts there are held by young people. This was also the case with us once. V.M. Malyshev was appointed a people's commissar at the age of 37, and P.N. Goremykin even at 27. The picture changed during the period of stagnation. N.A. Tikhonov became chairman of the Council of Ministers when he was over 70. S.L. Sokolov, too, became USSR defense minister when he was over 70. And similar appointments are continuing. Of course, it also happens that an old person will outperform a young one, but it is also a question of making way for the young.

Therefore it seems absolutely essential to exclude all elections and appointments over the age of 60 years.

Reader Cites 'Duplication' of Executive Efforts
PM1705150288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from V. Lyubchik, CPSU member since 1956, of Gremyachinsk, Perm Oblast, under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Readers' Discussion Forum" and the general heading "Truth Is Born in Debate": "Against Duplication"]

[Text] Let us assume that Stalin, as I. Sokolov writes in the 18 March PRAVDA [published in the 30 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 63-65], deliberately submitted to the 17th congress a proposal to abolish the Central Control Commission. Surely among the congress delegates and Central Committee and Politburo members there must have been some sober-minded people who understood the impermissibility of adopting this proposal? But the congress adopted it. So why do we, today, lay the blame for the repressions on I.V. Stalin alone? His guilt is, of course, enormous. But in my view one man—without supporters and helpers—cannot do either great good or great evil.

It is not only from hearsay that I know what the repressions of the thirties were like. I believe my father's service record can be found in the CPSU Central Committee archives. In 1938 my parents were arrested in Moscow, and in December 1955 they were rehabilitated, my father posthumously.

But let us go further. Stalin died 35 years ago. In that time there have been eight party congresses, including the 27th. I hope nobody will see it as a crime to ask: Who or what prevented the restoration, according to Lenin's principle, of the topmost echelon of the party control organ? After all, it is impossible that in 3 decades nobody except the author of the article cited remembered or read Lenin's warning that only the Central Control Commission, irrespective of persons, can ensure that no one hampers the correct conduct of our party affairs. Even today, are there not plenty of matters on which party organs, including the top organs, follow a path of duplication and concern themselves with other people's business?

So as not to make hollow accusations, let me cite just one example—the Politburo decisions adopted on 19 February. PRAVDA is the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, so I think it is possible to write about its executive organ in this newspaper.

The government submitted the draft Law on the Cooperative System. The Politburo approved the draft and submitted it for nationwide discussion. In my opinion, that was wrong. The government should submit the draft to the legisative body—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Under the Constitution, it alone has the right to submit draft laws for nationwide discussion. In this case, the opinion may arise that since the Politburo has approved the draft, that is how the law will remain, so there is no point in discussing it.

A program for building roads in the non-Chernozem was approved. Why? That is an economic issue. Does the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium not have the authority to approve the program, and the ministries under its jurisdiction the power to fulfill it?

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on additional privileges for individual housing cosntruction. Why a "dual" resolution? Does the Council of Ministers not have the administrative power?

In practice it transpires that the whole of political, state, and administrative power is concentrated in the same hands, although we are now living in peacetime and there is no need for an organ like the State Committee for Defense. Unless we have order here, the well-thought-out restructuring will not work as it should, and today there is no time to lose.

As for the Central Control Commission, it must, of course, be revived, and this must be done, I believe, on a Leninist basis and without delay—at the 19th all-union party conference. It must be written into the CPSU Statutes that no organ except the congress or conference has the right to interfere in the activity of the Central Control Commission, remove members or add new members, or exert any influence on the leadership of the Central Control Commission or its chairman. Only on that essential condition will the Central Control Commission be independent and be able to prevent the repetition of the errors in question.

V. Lyubchik, CPSU member since 1956,

Gremyachinsk,

Perm Oblast.

Reader Calls for 'Party Pluralism'
PM1705150088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from V. Degtyarev of Leningrad under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Readers' Discussion Forum" and the general heading "Truth Is Born in Debate": "Not Only Control"]

[Text] On the whole I support I. Sokolov's opinion (PRAVDA, 18 March) on the need to revive the Central Control Commission, but it seems to me that this measure will not fully guarantee against repeition of the errors of the past. Perhaps I am wrong, but I think it would be timely to advance the thesis of "party pluralism," that is, freedom of debate within the party on all questions of party and state life, with a guarantee against accusations of revisionism, opportunism, the creation of "antiparty" blocs, and so forth, and with these guarantees being written into the party Statutes. At present an active person who thinks in a nonstereotyped way has no safeguards against all that, and I, for instance, am not a member of the CPSU for that very reason, although I share the party's goals and believe, to use high-flown language, in the bright communist future of mankind.

The party, deprived of freedom of debate, could again stray from the true path (after all, truth is born in debate). In the conditions of our one-party system freedom of debate could guarantee us against the emergence of damaging new errors, the repetition of old ones, and voluntarist excesses.

It is undoubtedly also necessary to switch party committees from the duplication of the work of state and economic organs to political work, and there is plenty of work here—the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh confirm this, I think. It is also necessary somehow to cleanse the party of the accretions of the "stagnation years" and ensure that unscrupulous people do not find their way into the party like flies to the honeypot, seeking to use it to get more out of society.

I have a proposal in this connection: adopt a law under which party membership at the time of commission of a crime ("abuse") would be regarded as an aggravating circumstance. In my view arguments about the "pure image of the party member" are not enough on their own.

I would also like to touch on a rather different matter. Many people are now coming out against the simultaneous transmission of "Vremya" on all the TV channels. I will not argue about this program, but the compulsory showing on all channels, within the "Vremya" framework, of (say) Ivanov getting a goal past Sidorov seems idiotic to me. How can the fact that the puck (or ball) goes into the goal be so important that the best air time has to be allocated to it on all channels simultaneously? Surely the country has other problems that should be publicized?

V. Degtyarev, Leningrad

Journalist Concerned Over Glasnost Limitations
PM1705152988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Mikhail Berger "Publicist's Remarks": "Glasnost Without Limit"]

[Text] On the day of the Central Committee February (1984) Plenum, the author of an article planned for publication in one of the next few issues—a major trade union figure—telephoned the editorial office of the sector newspaper where I was working at the time and asked for his article not to be published without additional consultation. The article which we had prepared sounded sharp and self-critical, in the spirit of what was emerging during that period of the first offensive against the epoch of stagnation.

A few days after the aforementioned plenum, which elected a new general secretary, our author carefully re-read his article and said:

"The tone is rather sharp, I can sense this now. And by and large.... I've just come out from a conference, and there it was bluntly stated: 'Enough of self-flagellation, let's get down to work!' I fully agree with this."

The article was simply not published.

Today we are living in different times.

After all, just 3 years ago many of us were trying to guess: How long will it last? When will we hear the painfully familiar words: "Enough of self-flagellation, look at all the good that has been done!"

Have our worries dispersed today? It would be hypocritical to say: "Yes, absolutely, without a trace." We are bold, while we have the chance, in indiscriminately laying the blame for all problems on the voluntarism, stagnation, and corruption which existed in the past....

But what about the future? Will we not quail in the face of new "remnants of the past," of new problems which can no longer be attributed to the legacy of the period of stagnation? Will we, as we are doing now, look upon life from a vantage point that offers a broader view than that visible from the windows of a departmental or rayon leader? Will we not start accusing those who prove to be bolder and sharper than others of pursuing sensationalism and "hot news?"

While giving the customary nods "upwards," we at times fail to notice the restraint which operates at a much lower level, even within our own selves. There will always be people prepared to canonize the "present moment in time" regardless of what it actually is. There will certainly be people who, as time passes, start describing every plenum and every speech as nothing less than historic. Will they always be in a minority?

Those who do not count any journalists among their acquaintances probably do not know the question we are most often asked. Here it is: Is it true that you have been ordered to curtail criticism? This is asked with depressing frequency, and you realize to what extent people are awaiting such an order, awaiting the slightest hint of it, looking for it in every sentence uttered from the high rostrums.

And so, will there be a "limit," a boundary imposed on glasnost? This boundary already exists, and it is clearly identified—the interests of the people. The only question is: Who will judge what is and what is not within it—the functionary who holds his interests to be the interests of the state and the people, or the public and public opinion. The functionary will, sooner or later, certainly try to announce the complete and final elimination of stagnant and negative phenomena. Once that happens, the next step will be: "Enough of self-flagellation, let's work in peace! And let's hear more about good and positive things!" In other words, the beginning of a rigid "limitation" and orientation of glasnost. The lessons of the past show that the intensified—almost forced—concentration of the public's attention exclusively on successes and achievements is the best prescription for stagnation.

And if we seriously wish to insure society against it, then everyone must have an opportunity to publicly express doubts about the correctness of not only what "happened in the past" but also of what is happening now, without running the risk of being accused of heresy.

Glasnost can and must serve the interests of a department, provided this "department" is the people.

Even Stalinists Must Have 'Right to Speak'

PM1705160188 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 18, 1 May 88 p 3

[Anatoliy Strelyanyy article: "Let Them Talk!"]

[Text] Until the past March 13 I often thought: Isn't it time to make some dried toast? (People used to take dried toast with them to prison—St.) This same thought occurred to me particularly often on days when it was publicly declared that the years of stagnation were not bad years of our lives. But even on those days I would slice only a few pieces of bread and, after standing over them and thinking for a minute, simply eat them with tinned soup.

On March 13, when SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ran N. Andreyeva's "I cannot Reject Principles" and it became clear that it was the manifesto of enemies of democratization, I lingered a little longer over the slices of bread, but didn't put them in the oven.

Only several days later—when I learned from joyful admirers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that Andreyeva's article had been sent to the political education network and that the Army papers had started reprinting it—did I put the slices of bread in the oven.

All I wanted was for the bread to dry out in time for my arrest.

Over the past three years it often seemed to me that some people at the top were reluctant to realize that the policy connected with Gorbachev's name has strong, conscious and very vigorous enemies. I thought: what's the matter? Is this patience or love of peace, or weakness? Was it indecision or failure 'to understand the danger of' the situation when the editor of the Dnepropetrovsk regional Party paper confirmed his own Stalinism with a challenge in the paper and angrily rejected even the thought of exonerating oppositioners of the 30s—and did not get so much as a direct rebuff for this?

But the worst wasn't that for three years people could speak fairly openly against democratization. The worst was that we were often not allowed to protest against them openly and call a spade a spade. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA did an important thing by printing N. Andreyeva's letter: It greatly accelerated the course of events and made the ambiguity less.

Now what? Now that the manifesto has been condemned by PRAVDA and practically everyone else? I have turned the oven off. But the thought of dried toast—which is always on the minds of writers in our country—hasn't left me. What am I afraid of now? I'm afraid that the conservatives will be forced to shut up and go underground. To push them into the basements means to

slow down and limit democratization, and that's exactly what they want! If we seal their lips, we may begin to resemble them, and, imperceptibly to ourselves, become them.

I don't want what separates us from them to be erased in this way. And I don't think that the approach to Stalin or economic laws is the main thing. A Stalinist demands that my lips be sealed (that's what makes him a Stalinist) and that people listen only to him. I don't want his lips to be sealed or mine: people should be able to listen to both of us.

This is very important. Some people are already asking for the repentances of Petr Proskurin, Mikhail Alexeyev, Sergey Vikulov, Anatoliy Ivanov and the rest of the eleven writers still living who slandered Tvardovskiy not long before he died. Nothing fills me with greater alarm than these repentances. On the contrary, Vikulov, Proskurin, Ivanov, Alexeyev et al should have the opportunity to freely defend their stand—to condemn Tvardovskiy. But there should be one difference between them (those years which some people look back on so fondly) and now: that we can say what we think about their views, works and activities. Their interests will not change if they repent; they will not stop pursuing these interests and we'll be the first to suffer.

I'd also like Georgiy Markov to be able to go on explaining to us what a great writer Leonid Brezhnev was and how wonderful that he was awarded the Lenin Prize for literature.

Society must have variety—how else can it be? Variety—especially variety of interests—has always existed and will always exist. This variety must not get lost or be toned down or suppressed. All views, opinions and interests, except those prohibited by law, should have the right to compete for the public's sympathy, for the subscriber.

I don't want to discuss how many Stalinists and Brezhnevists there are now. Even when there are only a few left, they should have the right to speak their mind. The rights of the minority are just as dear to me, if not dearer, as the rights of majority. If the majority does not respect the minority, society ceases to be a wholesome, hale nation. Society loses the ability to create—despite its huge resources, it cannot feed or clothe itself, warm or even recreate itself.

Burlatskiy on Penal Code Reform, Religion

PM1705112488 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 May 88 p 6

["S.K." report: "Opinions Are Not Unanimous on Reform of Penal Code and of Legislation on Religion"]

[Text] The new penal code and new legislation on religious practice in the USSR could be adopted "this year or next year," according to Fedor Burlatskiy, chairman of the official Soviet Human Rights Commission created by the authorities last year.

Mr Burlatskiy, who is in Paris for talks with Amnesty International representatives (which took place on 12 and 13 May) and representatives of the American section of the Helsinki Human Rights Federation, admitted, in an interview granted to LE MONDE, that the glasnost and "democratization" process has hitherto had no legal basis. The drafting of reform plans were hampered by the "struggle" (between reformers and conservatives), he said, and, although there is now a draft of the new penal code at the Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, the same is not true of the reform of legislation on religion, which has not yet been drafted.

With regard to the penal code, Mr Burlatskiy's commission, "whose views do not always coincide with those of the Justice Ministry," is advocating "a far-reaching reform" based on a few principles: abolition of the death penalty (the commission is not unanimous on this point, Mr Burlatskiy specified), abandonment of article 190-1 which punishes the authors of "anti-Soviet propaganda," the use of a jury in serious criminal cases, the extension of the defense lawyer's role, and a change in the magistrate's status.

According to Mr Burlatskiy, the final decision on whether or not to abandon article 190-1 is still being discussed. Moreover, article 70, which penalizes "anti-Soviet agitation," ought to be maintained in a more detailed form. Mr Burlatskiy said that implementation of article 190-1 is at present "suspended" and he described the detention of Armenian nationalist Paruir Ayrikyan since March as "an exception." Only 18 people are still being held under the terms of this article in the USSR, he said, but neither he nor the members of his entourage were able to provide specific figures on political prisoners, which their American interlocutors estimate to number between 300 and 400. According to Mrs Jeri Laber, executive director of the American Helsinki group Watch, 345 prisoners have been released since the beginning of 1987.

The Separation of Church and State [subhead]

With regard to the reform of legislation on religion, Mr Burlatskiy proposes simply returning to the decree issued by Lenin in 1918 on the separation of church and state.

Mr Burlatskiy also justified the police action against the founders of the Democratic Union, stressing that it is an "attack on the one-party system." This initiative "could be seen as a provocation to force the conservatives to react," he said.

Finally, the Soviet official described as "interesting and useful" his initial contacts with Amnesty International Secretary General Ian Martin, who had requested the meeting. He also said that the Soviet proposal to hold an international human rights conference in Moscow was "still valid" but that he was not campaigning "very actively" for it.

Reform of Prisons, Penal Colonies Urged

LD1305144388 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 18, 1 May 88 p 4

[Viktor Loshak report: "The Zone of Silence"]

[Text] For decades this zone included "colonies," prisons and investigatory isolation wards. A public trial and an unpublicized sentence—the paradox was evident.... The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR held a roundtable in Murmansk with the participation of journalists, where they discussed whatever was previously considered "not for the press." It would seem that a serious problem is emerging from the shadows—a problem dealing with human rights.

Anatoliy Bektyashkin is 58 years old. In a "colony" with an especially strict regime, he is in charge of the canteen: the black-and-grey striped jacket he wears is not as striking under his cook's white coat. Bektyashkin is thin, shortish, with inexpressive watery eyes and a very quiet manner. His total prison term, when you add up all the various sentences, amounts to 101 years.

If it were necessary to trace the fate of one person, and how very painfully the times of Stalin's regime and the laws of those years still reverberate, the life of Bektyashkin, a particularly dangerous recidivist, would fully suit the purpose. As a 12-year old boy in 1943, he stole into a cafeteria to get some supper for himself and his younger brothers and sisters (their father was away at the front and their mother had gone away), was caught and condemned to five years. He served his term until the amnesty in honour of the Victory, and two years later, at 16, he was caught stealing a fish from a smoke-house: a 10-year sentence. And then the ball really started rolling: Bektyashkin became an inveterate criminal and since then has spent less than three years as a free man.

A visit to a colony with the strictest or "special" kind of regime came as a shock to many of us. It wasn't the barbed wire, the clanking of locks, the guard towers or the gray lights in the solitary cells—something else weighed heavily up on us. Perhaps it was the fact that there were 1,300 inmates there—assassins, rapists, hardened thieves and robbers—and that this was not the only such colony that we had. Are we sincere in our conviction that we are reforming them? Who must educate people who have lost much of their humanity, and how?

The colony shown to the journalists is considered—in the hierarchy of thieves—to be a "red" one. This means that there is only "special regime" law and order here—there are no "bosses" among the inmates and no castes that take the liberty of not working and being generally disruptive. But the struggle to maintain this status is not an easy one—the solitary cells of the isolation ward are never empty.

They work and do not buck the system.... We can only guess what this costs the people who come every day to work in the colony. As a matter of fact, we seem to know even less about them than about those whom they guard. There is little joy in spending the workday among assassins and thieves, condemned for the fourth, tenth or twelfth time. The wardens and officers usually live with their families near the colony, which quite often is located hundreds of kilometres from any city. Someone remembered how the son of a colony official was taken by surprise upon visiting the district centre for the first time: "Daddy, look how many of them go around unescorted!"

Let me single out the main element in the discussion, namely that the system of convict correction and re-education is in need of a major overhaul. For dozens of years prisoners have been treated as a convenient and submissive workforce. The mines of the Kola Peninsula and Vorkuta, Kolyma, the White Sea Canal, the old section of the Baykal-Amur Railway.... Who can now name all the major construction sites where prisoners worked and, all too often, died? In remembering all this we are addressing the distant past, but it was only yesterday, in the 1970s, that the colonies were filled to overflowing as well—there were even people sent there who, perhaps, should not have been deprived of their freedom at all. But even today it is production, and not re-education, that remains the chief indicator of a colony's performance. The colonies, too, are given plans based on "what has already been achieved."

It is naive to think that Lieut.-Col. Anatoly Sarenko, 40, chief of the colony with a "special" regime near Murmansk (he graduated from the Higher Investigatory School and the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, has three children, and has worked at the colony for 15 years), and his subordinates will be able to re-educate Bektyashkin, who received his present education through a 40-year "higher criminal school." And yet, is it normal that corrective labour institutions should take on only the tasks of isolation and production? According to statistics, three in ten return to Sarenko's "red" colony; in general, about a third of all the convicts in colonies have three or more convictions.

Today the number of convicts in our colonies has markedly declined thanks not only to a drop in crime and a major amnesty, but also to the fact that now the courts deprive people of liberty only in extreme cases (which reflects a clear understanding of exactly what kind of schooling imprisonment provides). Isn't this a good reason for the education of everyone still found there? After all, it is well known what unfortunate consequences arise from the joint custody of normal and mentally retarded people, psychopaths and those suffering from sexual perversions in colonies for adults and especially in the ones for children. Isn't it possible to split them up, rather than lumping them all together in the cramped quarters of cells and camps? Doesn't the

humanization of imprisonment begin here, a humanization which may already have been started by an open discussion of these problems, by bringing them out of the zone of silence?

No, the colony is not to blame for all of their sins, but if we just take a look at the case files whose covers are marked with a red band (meaning that the prisoner is particularly dangerous or prone to escape), we shall see: few of them served their first term for a grave crime. Generally, it was a melee, a petty theft or a drunken brawl.... Years and years of imprisonment have passed, and now all of them, in tattoos done either with ink or, lacking ink, a melted rubber sole, are in a special regime for cruel and ruthless crimes.

The school of a colony, or is it the school of life? That bright and pure life which doesn't need them, in which they spoil the landscape. After many years of imprisonment when they spent 10 roubles a month at the camp kiosk, in which there is nothing except makhorka (cheap tobacco), cigarettes, combs, notebooks, tea and cheap sweets, they get lost even in ordinary stores or in the street. What can then be said about work—which is denied them, anyway. We're busy propagating more independence and greater rights for the local soviets. But somehow one wants to take another look at these rights upon discovering that upwards of 70 cities in the country have established restrictions on housing registration for ex-convicts. There was a time when things came to such a head that in Leningrad it was decided not to register juveniles who had convictions. But where were they supposed to live, if not with their parents?

Let's face it: with this sort of striving for order we are simply prodding those released back into the colonies.

Does draining the bitter cup of retribution to the dregs mean severing all links with the outside world? One needn't doubt the need for scanty meals or isolation wards, but at the same time it is hard to understand why a prisoner is permitted to write only one letter a month to his relatives and friends.

Our country has one of the largest prison populations in the world. There is no need to be overzealous in order to cut these people off from society once and for all. In the colony we happened to visit there are three, only three rooms where inmates can see their relatives. Every convict is allowed two visits a year. But all three rooms were vacant.

'Trial' TV Program Profiles Life Under Stalin

LD1805013088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1455 GMT on 16 May broadcasts a 2-hour program entitled "The Revolution Continues: The Trial," which is devoted to the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule.

An introductory caption states that filming for the program began in the summer of 1987. The caption reads: "The process of democratization is gaining momentum in our country. We are learning to say aloud what had for long lay in the hearts of all of us. The authors are grateful to all those who took part in the film, who helped to understand a difficult and complex period. In addressing history, we are thinking of tomorrow."

The program opens with a choir of veterans singing revolutionary songs over footage of Moscow in the summer of 1917. The video shows Red Square, where a group of veterans of the revolution recall the events of 1917, the strikes, Lenin's program for revolution, and his policy for ending the war. An extract from the play "Dictatorship of Conscience" follows; a man turns to the screen and says: "We are beginning a trial. Let the representatives of the old and the new world, the defense and the prosecution, and the rest of the public, take their places."

After further recollections from the veterans, footage of the burial of revolutionary heroes in 1917, and another clip from the play, there follows a clip of an address by Doctor of Economic Sciences Dzarasov to a meeting at the Institute of Economics. He says in part: "For many years the notion was cultivated, and it has now taken deep root, that we were following Lenin's path in everything, that we were living and building socialism to the drafts elaborated by him. But the truth is that we deviated from Lenin's principles and methods of building socialism, for which we had to pay a high price."

The video shows film from Lenin's funeral in 1924, the camera zooming in close on the face of Stalin in the entourage. Once more at the veterans gathering on Red Square, Z.P. Gorskiy recalls his role as a delegate to elect a new general secretary following the death of Lenin, and says; "Mikhail Ivanovich [Kalinin] read the testament of Vladimir Ilich, and stated—these were his exact words—when Vladimir Ilich dictated this testament, he was already ill. Stalin gave his word that he would take into account Lenin's remarks. And I, the devil take me, voted like everyone else for Stalin. I will never forget it for the rest of my life."

The video shows further film of Lenin's funeral, focusing on the faces of Stalin and Krupskaya, and is followed by another extract from the address by Dzarasov, in which he outlines how, in spite of Lenin's efforts, the dictatorship of the proletariat turned into the personality cult. More film follows of Stalin with some of his entourage.

The video moves to an interview with Academician B.I. Medovar of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, who says; "In order to judge Stalinism, to condemn it or not to condemn it, you have first of all to take yourself back to those years. As I am older than all of you here, I remember, I don't get it from books. 1929-1930—the country was backward; it was then that Stalin said we

have fallen behind the front-running countries, in technical and economic aspects, by 50-100 years. We have to catch up, we have to run through this gap in 10 years, otherwise they'll crush us. Those methods of high-handed administration, which everyone is now condemning, were unavoidable. If we had gone in for a talking shop, as the oppositionists of all shades and colors proposed—I still remember the speeches by Bukharin in the newspapers, you read it, he's right in all he says, why hurry with this or with that—I would put it like this: In a country like ours,—huge, 8 time zones, 11,000 km from east to west, with no infrastructure. [sentence as heard] Do you remember those years, even if only from books? No roads, no telephone communications, there was nothing. What else could have been done in such a country? How could it be turned and industrialized? What, comrades, by persuasion? Only like that?"

On Red Square one of the veterans recalls reading an article in PRAVDA on industrialization and collectivization. The latter, he recalls, resulted in the loss of 33 million head of cattle. A brief clip of footage showing peasants registering at kolkhozes follows. V.A. Tikhonov, All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences or Vaskhnil academician, in a following interview, gives his views as to the reasons why Stalin chose collectivization as the best way of introducing cooperative forms of farming—to gain possession of grain resources for the purposes of pushing through his program of industrialization.

I.T. Tvardovskiy recounts his own memories of the period of collectivization as an ordinary, moderately successful peasant family subjected to dekulakization.

Replying to the question as to whether there were any kulaks in 1929, Tikhonov says: "Under the political power of a proletarian state, and with nationalized land, there were no conditions for the emergence of a whole class of kulaks, a class of rural bourgeoisie, following the end of the civil war. And so against whom was the process of dekulakization directed during collectivization? Precisely against those peasants of whom Stalin said that if they resisted, then antikulak legislation was to be applied to them. That is, against the peasant class of middling prosperity who by their own labor brought their farms to a higher than average level.

"What did we get? We got the elimination of something like 13-15 percent of peasant farmsteads, that is, approximately 2.7 to 3 million peasant farmsteads were eliminated. And what is 3 million peasant farmsteads? It is on average something of the order of about 15 million people. I think that if we are to speak of the deep roots of the serious and abiding situation we have in our agriculture, and in this regard in the food supply industry too, then its historical roots lie in those social transformations that were begun in 1929 by this whole stage, this whole process of collectivization of agriculture."

The program then goes on to show a meeting at the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute, where the question of how to teach the history of collectivization is being aired.

Back out on the street an interview is shown with an elderly man who says that, without any natural catastrophe or war, collectivization led to people having to use ration cards, and this after a period of abundance. Then the trials began: First of people in the food industry and subsequently the Prompartiya case.

Captioned "13 Days—The Prompartiya Case," archive footage of the case, held in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in 1930, is shown. The case refers to the counterrevolutionary organization, the Union of Engineering organizations or Prompartiya. The court officials are introduced one by one, and the chairman of the court is identified as Vyshinskiy. Further archive footage shows demonstrations against saboteurs.

Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Polikarpov, a doctor of historical sciences, refers to a June 1931 speech by Stalin, in which he claimed that the most highly qualified specialists and the intelligentsia were saboteurs, and that there could be no other policy toward them but one of rout. As an elderly man, identified as Yuriy Nikolayevich Flakserman, a member of the Collegium of the (?All-Russian) Council of the National Economy or VSNKh, confirms by means of an anecdote, the Prompartiya case resulted in the elimination of good, experienced personnel. He himself spent 17 years in prison.

Following a further clip from the play and archive footage of industrial achievements bordered on the top by a red band with impressive industrial facts and figures from the Stalin Era, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov of Vaskhnil poses the question: Given that in 1941 everything that had been created by "robbing" the peasants was destroyed, was the peasants' sacrifice justified, and did collectivization have to be carried out in such a "barbaric" fashion? No answer is given.

More black and white film shows the dawning of the year 1936 and the celebrations, including a glimpse of Kalinin toasting the New Year. This is followed by a clip of Iosif Abramovich Gerasimov, a writer, warning of the dangers of perpetuating the lie of the past by continuing to teach pupils at school using the Short History of the All-Union Communist Party. This topic is taken up by a discussion group from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute, where opinions divide over the emphasis that should be laid on the negative influence of Stalin in the country's development. The general consensus, however, is that there were both positive and negative aspects. Another clip from the theater production follows.

A point is raised at the Central House of Literary Figures during a discussion there: Was Stalin the initiator of the repressive policy? After all, did he not merely continue

where others had left off? Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, a doctor of historical sciences, replies: "As far as continuing goes, I am firmly convinced that Stalin can in no way be said to have been continuing Lenin's cause. He violated the holy of holies in Lenin's principles for building socialism in our country. He departed from these principles and, to a considerable extent, he simply discredited them."

Next follow man-in-the-street interviews, during which one young man says that a person still only speaks superficially because: "He is afraid. He is not sure what will happen tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. He is still not sure that all this will continue very long." Other young people claim to be more certain, however. One woman says: "As long as we do not know the whole truth and skirt around the sharp corners, the young people will not trust us fully."

This first part of the two-part film concludes with the initial choir of veterans singing revolutionary songs over shots of the participants in the first part and film of Moscow.

Part two opens with a clip of a street performance of "Cain and Abel" in Ukrainian in the city of Lvov. One of the performers, dressed in black, says: "At the base there is faith; in doubt there is death. Such is the law of the tyrant."

A meeting is then shown at the Moscow Polytechnic Museum at which the writer D.A. Granin is speaking on the writer's aspiration to reach goodness in people: "How do you reach it? How do you stimulate in a man this energy of goodness? How do you arouse the work of the conscience? What are you to do with contemporary man, who has had enough of listening to everything, who has been lied to thousands of times and deceived, who no longer believes anything? How do you get through to him? What can you say to him so that he might believe you, so that something of himself might awaken in him?"

Ukrainian academician N.M. Amosov is shown addressing a meeting at the Ostankino Studios in Moscow on the need to expand glasnost and expose the past, which is followed in turn by more interviews with the same veterans in Red Square. One of them, L.O. Orlovskiy, says: "We are comparing the time during the life of Vladimir Ilich and after. And of course, we considered ourselves Leninists, 100 percent Leninists. And before our eyes these Leninist cadres were being destroyed. For what? What was this being done for? Now it's clear to us what it was for. Because it was necessary to strengthen the power of one man."

Another of the veterans, N.V. Smirnov, breaks in: "I have to say this too: 1937 and 1938 were black days in our country. This can be said now. These were the blackest days I can remember, with great regret. A kind of espionage had developed. People were following one another; we were informing on one another, and he's right in what he says that we were afraid even to talk with people we didn't know very well." He goes on: "In 1937, on the night of 30 April, when the parade was being prepared on Red Square, my wife's brother was arrested. His name was Imenninikov. At that time I was a student at the Frunze Academy. On the morning of 1 May I went to his wife, and she was in tears—my husband has been arrested. Why, I don't know. Well, I of course, sympathized, and left for Kharkov where I was serving. As you would expect, I wrote a statement, that my wife's brother has been arrested by the organs of the OGPU [Unified State Political Administration, later absorbed into NKVD], or the NKVD, and as was the way at that time, they started investigating me and my wife. What involvement did we have? Links with an enemy of the people!"

Another veteran says: "We used to live on (?Sadovokotelskaya), we occupied a number of houses there. Every night the Black Maria [NKVD car] used to come and pick up people. In the morning we found out from the caretakers that such and such people had been arrested—heroes, the best people, had been picked up." Orlovskiy breaks in again: "I have to tell you that I was working in the People's Commissariat of Railways, which was headed by one of Stalin's cronies, Kaganovich. I had a senior position, head of the central directorate. I have to tell you that I was the only person who wasn't arrested. It was even difficult for me to look people in the eyes." Smirnov adds: "I believed to a certain extent what was going on at the top. Even my wife's brother—to a certain extent I thought—did he really betray the interests of the party? So we, the ordinary people, to some extent believed that there really were enemies in our country...."

Orlovskiy concludes: "Comrades who were devoted to one another could still speak to one another about some things. But the most important thing in the party had been destroyed. In 1918 I could walk and know that the Communist beside me at the front wouldn't betray me, and wouldn't stick a bayonet in my back. But after the days of Stalin, faith had been broken, people began to be scared. The fear reached such an extent—I'm talking about the broad levels, the rank and file Communist—they were afraid to speak the truth. Truth ceased to exist both in the party and in the broad ranks, although people before the war believed in Stalin, and I too used to shout phrases like Our Own Father, and we went to war and defended the homeland under the banner of Stalin, because we still believed the party; because Stalins come and go, but the party abides."

A film clip of Stalin at massed parades is followed by a further extract from the discussion at the Pedagogical Institute, at which a professor, L.T. Antonenkov, tells the story of how his father and uncle had been imprisoned in 1937, how the entire family had been declared enemies of the people as a result, and how the charges were later found to be the consequence of groundless slander. The camera focuses on his disfigured hand, and

a series of photographs profile his distinguished career, both as an academic and as a serviceman seriously wounded in the war. I.T. Tvardovksiy is shown again, explaining an attitude held at that time that the elimination of the kulak class did not also mean their elimination as people.

A film clip dated 1938 shows State Prosecutor Vyshinskiy making his introductory remarks at a trial, calling for the elimination of Trotskyite and Bukharinite vermin. A captioned picture of Bukharin appears on the screen, followed immediately by an interview with Anna Mikhaylovna Bukharina-Larina. She says: "He was a trustful person, a very sincere man. But probably a bad politician [laughs], because he lost the battles even when he was right. He cut a different figure to such a man as Stalin—sly, cunning, treacherous, and simply, I think, criminal; he was a criminal, because he embarked on crime. This is how he conducted politics. But now, at a distance, this is all very well. But at that time, 1928 and 1929, he was very sharply against him, but after he somehow came to terms with him. The difficulties were already behind, and they had to proceed together. They were afraid of a split in the party. Fascism was encroaching. And at this point the question arose of the unity of all socialist parties. The Seventh Comintern Congress made such a decision, so even to speak of splits in one's own party was intolerable." She is shown seated at home, a picture of Bukharin appears briefly on the screen.

There follows more footage of the trial, with Vyshinskiy making the following speech, punctuating it with abrupt gestures:

"They are prepared for treachery; they are prepared to open the border of our country; they are prepared to fling the gates wide open to a foreign conqueror. But they want to make out that this evil deed is the work of others' hands, against which they, you see, these Jesuits and Pharisees, these Judas Iscariots and Vasiliy Shuyskiys, now raise their voice of true Soviet patriotism. Their game has been uncovered. The mask of treachery has been torn from their visages, from their faces, and has been torn once and for all. May our sentence roar out like the refreshing and cleansing thunderstorm of just Soviet punishment. Our whole country—young and old alike—awaits and demands one thing: that the traitors and spies who have sold our country to the enemy be executed like vile curs." The audience is shown wildly applauding this statement.

The next bit of archive film shows Stalin walking by a building, presumably part of the Kremlin complex, and then indoors, writing.

The scene now switches back to present day Red Square, and to the group of party veterans who have spoken at frequent intervals throughout the program. One old woman maintains that the building of communism requires great effort on the part of the whole people, and Stalin tried to do it all by himself, but this point of view is dismissed as nonsense by some other unidentified voices. Flakserman says: "It was a typical power struggle. And only one Bolshevik in a position of responsibility mustered his strength and declared from the podium that essentially there was no disagreement in the party [a voice from behind says "That was Kirov"]. There was a struggle for power. A three, a seven, and an ace—Lashevich said that. Kirov did something else. Kirov made the most colossal mistake when at the 17th congress his candidacy was put forward for first secretary and he refused. And this cost him his own life and later on cost the lives of a huge number of those surrounding Kirov."

Another man, Zinoviy Pavlovich Gorskiy, who worked within the party, lists the names of people he worked with who were "executed": Zelenskiy, Ivanov, Mikhailov, Antipov, Polonskiy, (Ryutin), Kotov, (?Ukhanov), Bauman.

More black and white film provides still photographs of various figures, preceded by their names, who were in attendance at the lying in state of Lenin: Comrades Rudzutak, Antonov-Ovseyenkov, Tukhachevskiy, Tomskiy, Pyatakov, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Rykov. Also a zoom shot of Bukharin.

At this point Bukharina-Larina reads from tattered pieces of paper. At no point is it spelled out what this letter is. She says:

"To the future generation of leaders of the party. I am leaving life. It is not the proletarian axe before which I am bowing my head, which should be merciless but also chaste. I feel my helplessness before the hellish machine, which, probably using the methods of the Middle Ages, possesses gigantic strength, fabricates organized slander, and acts boldly and confidently. Dzerzhinskiy is no more. The remarkable traditions of the Cheka have gradually faded into the past, when the revolutionary idea guided all of its actions, justified cruelty to the enemies, and protected the state from all kinds of counterrevolution. For this reason the organs of the Cheka won special trust, special honor, authority, and respect. At the present time, in the majority, the so-called organs of the NKVD are a degenerate organization, unprincipled and decayed, of well-provided-for bureaucrats, who, using the former authority of the Cheka, to please the morbid suspicion of Stalin—I fear to say more—pursuing orders and glory, do their vile business, incidentally not understanding that at the same time they are destroying themselves. History does not tolerate the witnesses of filthy deeds. Any member of the Central Committee, any member of the party can be pulverized by these miracle-working organs and changed into a traitor, a terrorist, a saboteur, or a spy. If Stalin doubted himself, confirmation would follow instantly. Storm clouds loom above the party. My completely innocent head alone will draw in its wake thousands more innocent ones. An organization has to be created, a Bukharinite organization, which in reality does not exist

not only now, when for 7 years I have not the faintest trace of discord with the party, but which also did not exist even then, in the years of the right opposition.

"If I have several times been wrong in the methods of building socialism, may posterity judge me no more harshly than Vladimir Ilich did. We were the first to be making our way to the common goal by a still unbeaten path. It was a different time, the mores were different. A discussion page was printed in PRAVDA. Everyone argued, searching for the ways. They quarrelled and made up, and then proceeded farther together.

"I appeal to you, the future generation of party leaders, whose historic mission includes the responsibility of unravelling the monstous tangle of crimes that, in these terrible days, is growing ever more immense, is flaring up like a flame and suffocating the party.

"I appeal to all members of the party: In these—possibly the last—days of my life I am sure that the filter of history will, sooner or later, inevitably wash the dirt from my head. I have never been a traitor. I would, without hesitation, have given my own life for that of Lenin. I loved Kirov and did not undertake anything against Stalin. I ask the new, young, and honorable generation of party leaders to read out my letter at a plenum of the Central Committee, acquit me, and rehabilitate me in the party.

"Know you, my comrades, that on that banner which you will bear on the triumphal procession toward communism there is my drop of blood, too."

Half way through the reading there is a brief glimpse of a photograph showing Bukharin, cigarette in hand, poring over some papers with an unidentified woman. Another photograph shows Bukharin by himself gazing into the camera. She says she repeated the letter over and over again like a prayer. While she was in the camp she did not write it down, so for 8 years it remained only in her memory. A photograph is shown of a young woman, presumably Bukharina-Larina in her youth. From her left eye emerges a fiery colored spot, which develops into the background for a performance of Vivaldi's Four Seasons. As this music continues the camera cuts to a close-up shot of the old man Tvardovskiy's pensive eyes, then to a chain fence which blurs as gruesome sculptures beyond it are brought into focus. As the music fades, we return to the Ukrainian production of "Cain and Abel" and a dialogue between the two brothers on the subject of a sacrificial altar, the upshot of which is the death of the one at the hand of the other. Again to the strains of Vivaldi, the camera zooms in on the eyes of a young boy who is seated on a sculpture in the open air.

The next section of the program deals with World War II. It opens with a veteran of the frontier guards recounting his experiences: "In the first day of the fighting on the border, in our complement, of the 108 frontier guards 26 were left seriously wounded, seven were left standing, and 75 dead. That was after the first day's fighting."

Other war veterans contribute their thoughts on restructuring and young people while standing outside the Bolshoy Theater on Victory Day 1987. One officer says he is aware of only one positive thing to be said about Stalin: "If it had not been for Stalin, we would not have won the war. That is for sure. It would have been difficult to have won. Because nobody else had Stalin's strength of will and iron discipline."

The camera shows a small photograph of a soldier being held like an icon, and then we move back again to archive film from 1941 of the devastation of churches and of wailing women. Piles of bodies are shown, as are bullet-riddled religious paintings.

At a meeting in the Central House of Literary Figures one Nikolay Grigoryevich Pavlenko, a doctor of historical sciences, states before an audience that in 1937 and 1938 40,000 officers were killed—37,000 in the Army and 3,000 in the Navy. Thus more were killed by Stalin in these 2 years than in the whole of World War II. Vladimir Nikolayevich Shubkin, a doctor of philosophy, wonders: "Why, in August and September 1942, did we, in the course of a whole month, mount offensives day in, day out? Did we really not see the pointlessness of all these offensives and of the number of victims there were?" Vasiliy Mikhailovich Kulish, doctor of historical sciences, adds: "The year 1942 was a catastrophe for our country. It was a huge defeat. But first and foremost it was a catastrophe for the system of rule in the country and the Army that had developed under the influence of the Stalin personality cult." Doctor Shubkin returns to question why it is that the Soviet Union seems proud of the figure of 20 million dead in World War II.

The program moves to a meeting being addressed by Ilya Samsonovich Shkapa, a CPSU member since 1917: "Just you read the article 'Our Ilich' in a recent PRAVDA; just you read Lenin's Testament in this year's issue number two of KOMMUNIST. Splendid, reasoned articles showing the road we ought to have gone along. And if we had gone along this road, we would not have had 1937 or 1941, and I am quite convinced—for I have sat with top military men—there would not even have been the Hitler attack on our country." He is interrupted at this point by applause from his unseen audience.

A Dr Kunitsyn says one gets the impression that, by comparison with Stalin, Machiavelli was a mere beginner.

Yuriy Fedorovich Karyakin, a writer, says in relation to Stalin: "In the history of mankind there has never been a more abstract humanist, nor a more concrete chastiser."

The next clip of archive film shows Stalin on May Day 1949 pointing and waving to little children during the parade on Red Square.

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, of Vaskhnil, goes into the objective reasons for the emergence of Stalin and of Stalinism as a political phenomenon: "One objective circumstance was the political and administrative structure that had developed: principles, on whose basis a specific political regime was founded that did not permit the free struggle of opinions, that did not permit any clashes between any group opinions, that did not permit individual groups to hold an opinion if it did not coincide with the opinion of the ruling nucleus. In this situation, one way or another, all the same, such a figure possessing dictatorial traits, dictatorial powers, and dictatorial authority could arise. And so, there is but one guarantee, and there was but one guarantee, of avoiding the possibility of the emergence of such a figure of authority in the party: The abolition of those ways that were necessary for wartime and the establishment of ways that were essential for peacetime. That is, the abolition of any decisions limiting democratism. That is, the creation of circumstances in which socialist pluralism would be a standard phenomenon and in which nothing and nobody could prevent people from voicing their opinions, of defending their own opinions, and, by ways of clashing opinions, of finding solutions that really would benefit society."

The last words are spoken by Boris Vasilyevich Rakitskiy, a doctor of economic sciences: "We cannot be without a past. Unfortunately it is always with us, the bad, that is; fortunately and unfortunately, simultaneously, so to speak—that is the dialectic. But if we hang on tightly to everything in the past and do not reject the pernicious legacy of some things in the past, then we will turn into people without a future. This must be well and truly borne in mind. I believe that Stalinism—that dreadful deformation that occurred in the thirties and forties—was the curse that hangs over our people and reduces to nil the efforts of one generation after another. I believe we must be courageous. We need to pluck up courage and tear asunder, gnaw through the umbilical cord that has linked us to the deviations from Leninism ever since the thirties."

The program ends with a march of veterans. Gradually the camera draws away from the march, rising above it to show more and more people in a vast crowd.

Briefs

Azerbaijan TV Relay Station

Inhabitants of the Dzhebrailskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan can now watch Central Television thanks to a new relay station which uses the most modern equipment made in the CSSR and GDR. [Summary] *[LD022345 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 2 May 88]*

Order of Lenin

We have received a decree from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on awarding the title of Hero of Scoialist Labor and the presentation of the Order of Lenin and the Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal to the first secretary of the Smolenskiy Rayon party committee of Altay Kray, (Zanimin). [Excerpt] *[LD1105035188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 May 88]*

Independent Production Associations

Production associations have been established in Leningrad which, in defiance of the old practice, will function independently, without orders from ministries. They include power engineering plants and chemical factories. They were founded by labor staffs who put forward this initiative. This involved a new form of running industrial facilities which has emerged as a result of the drastic economic reform launched in the USSR. The reform provides for making plants and factories self accountable, working on the basis of self-financing. As for the ministries, they will deal with the strategic issues of economic development. [Text] *[LD0805013688 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 7 May 88]*

Press Awards

USSR state awards were presented at a meeting in Tashkent today. The USSR orders and medals were awarded to a group of journalists in the republic affiliated to PRAVDA VOSTOKA and to the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee publishing establishments. The journalists received the awards for their successful work in the Soviet press. The chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium presented the awards. [Text] *[NC0905090688 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 5 May 88]*

Economic

State Bank Does Not Expect Ruble Convertibility

AU1805100988 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 18 May 88 p 9

[Text] According to Yuriy Ponomarev, USSR State Bank general manager, full convertibility of the ruble is not to be expected in the foreseeable future.

At the end of the international seminar on East-West financial relations in Vienna, Ponomarev noted that the adjustment of the USSR currency to the Western monetary system would have to be preceded by essential steps in economic policy. Thinking in market economy terms and pricing would have to gain more influence and the importance of state contracts would have to diminish further.

Ponomarev imagines more flexibility regarding joint ventures.

At the seminar Chancellor Franz Vranitzky also spoke in favor of intensifying joint ventures and direct investments.

According to Vranitzky, Western companies still hesitate to transfer their investment capital to Eastern Europe. Greater willingness to do so is to be expected if Western partners were to receive majority shares in joint ventures.

Petrakov Discusses Need for Price Reform

DW161221 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 16 May 88 pp 192-197

[Interview with Nikolay Petrakov, deputy director of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Joerg R. Mettke in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Nikolay Yakovlevich, Soviet politicians and economists have for many months been announcing a radical price reform. When will it come?

Petrakov: The State Price Committee together with the ministries is preparing lists of new prices for hundreds of thousands of products. So the prices found in this way are a sort of joint product.

SPIEGEL: Neither is the method new, nor has it ever made sense.

Petrakov: What is new about it is that for the first time in many decades we intend to change the pricing mechanism. In the future prices are supposed to react more flexibly to supply and demand dynamism. We want to create a market for means of production, wholesale trade. That requires flexible prices. We have to start that immediately.

SPIEGEL: But retail prices are being increased.

Petrakov: Prices have to change. This is a complex reform. We cannot take individual items out of the overall structure—for example prices for meat, bread, or dairy products—and leave the rest as it is.

We were terribly conservative for a long time and thought we could prevent inflation by strict price control. We were quite successful, at least with a number of agricultural products. But as for industrial consumer durables, household technical appliances, home computers, or ready-to-wear clothing, prices change constantly and we have not been able to keep those prices under control.

SPIEGEL: They got out of hand...

Petrakov: ...and that is why today we have the situation of a developing country—cheap foodstuffs on the one hand, and extremely expensive manufacturing industry products, on the other. The retail price for a middle-class car, for instance, corresponds to the price of 8 tons of meat.

SPIEGEL: In the FRG that would be about DM80,000.

Petrakov: But considering the production expense, a car should not cost more than 500 kg of meat.

SPIEGEL: Many economists say that fixing cost-oriented prices should have been the first act of perestroyka. Why so late and so slow?

Petrakov: Such a thing is always easier said than done. We have no experience with flexible prices and do not know how the consumer will react. In Western countries there are data based on experience and statistics, but not here.

SPIEGEL: Government spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov admitted the other day that you did not know "how a price mechanism works."

Petrakov: I do not know to whom he was referring by that. Of course, we could tell the enterprises that henceforth they should fix their own prices. The only problem is that they do not know what they want. They feel that their prices should be higher, but they would run the risk of quoting them too high and not selling their goods. If, however, prices were initially quoted at too low a level the goods would soon be sold out. That is why for a start we need a sort of test range—a limited number of markets—for new technologies, for instance.

SPIEGEL: How is that supposed to work?

Petrakov: We are currently shifting our enterprises to a self-financing system. That means they have to deal with their investments themselves, plan their development funds, and purchase the necessary equipment at free-market prices. As to the purchase of new technology, for example—if an enterprise were ready to pay two or three times a given price from its own funds—there would be a guarantee for that technology to be utilized more effectively than in the past.

SPIEGEL: That would mean for consumer goods that goods that have been in short supply would again be available at higher prices. But would consumers be able to pay for them?

Petrakov: It only makes sense to talk about "high" or "low" prices if the respective goods are available in shops in sufficient quantity. Many people say, why all that talk about prices, or whether meat should continue to cost R2 or not? We do not see any in our city or region. I am personally not opposed to the price of meat remaining low, but then it should also be available.

SPIEGEL: Some R2, which is about 1 and 1/2 times what you can earn in 1 hour, for a kilogram of meat—that is not little. How does such a price come about?

Petrakov: Such a price comes from: 1962, with the last official price level change in our country. Since then, however, there have been developments with a vast impact on agriculture—positive and negative ones, all of which have, unfortunately, not been taken into account. What was positive was that the income of people living in the country has almost tripled. Until that time agricultural wages were very low. Thus, that social measure was urgently needed.

SPIEGEL: Today rural people earn about 80 percent of what industrial workers earn.

Petrakov: That is a just ratio. Remember that those employed in agriculture also have revenue from their private farming. There were vast investments in agriculture, which, unfortunately, were badly used and which did not lead to enhancing effectiveness; for instance, a preoccupation with the tractor—more and more tractors, while the required eqipment was lacking. We were transfixed with the number of harvesters, but we forgot about quality. We failed to do many other things—invest in storage space, in roads, and in the social sector. Therefore, there was virtually no efficiency, while costs were on the increase.

SPIEGEL: Do consumers have to pay dearly for it now?

Petrakov: Today production costs for a kilogram of meat average about R4, while it is still being sold for R2.

SPIEGEL: In a national shop you usually get decent goods for that price only if you are lucky. Buyers go to farmers markets where the price for food that was produced privately or above the plan depends on supply and demand. There, a kilogram of meat costs twice or three times as much.

Petrakov: Any form of shortage of goods tends to decrease quality. Frozen meat with many bones, for example—let it cost R2 like before. But fresh meat, choice cuts, and the like must have differentiated prices in the future, prices that depend on quality. Then there would be enough for buyers with low incomes. Whoever has a higher claim must pay more.

SPIEGEL: To date you have instead relied on subsidies. For such subsidies an annual R73 billion is necessary. Thinking in real price terms, which reflects demand as well as expense and profit, those billions of rubles should probably be transferred as purchasing power to wages. Is that not so?

Petrakov: Yes, through the price mechanism. The billions of rubles subsidies come from the national budget. But how do they arrive at the national cashbox? The government is not Santa Claus with a bag full of goodies. Those R73 billion were previously taken out of the people's pockets by exaggerated prices for furniture, cars, shoes, radios, television sets, and refrigerators. Reform must involve all retail prices.

No longer do we have the unchallenged right to demand such high prices for industrial products, particularly in view of the frequent dubious quality. If an increase in meat prices is considered, then the question must be permitted whether it is tolerable to spend a month's salary for a pair of boots.

SPIEGEL: If the prices administration remains, what are you going to do about prices for services? Trains and subways, for example, show only losses.

Petrakov: That is another painful point. From the pure economic view, prices should be increased for such services. But from the social policy aspect the whole thing looks different. As long as our dwelling situation is tight, nobody can seek an apartment near his workplace.

Even today big city people are penalized because they spend an average of 3 hours per day using public transportation. Should they be penalized again with price increases?

SPIEGEL: Cost-oriented prices for food, price decreases for industrial goods, and continued subsidies for transportation. In light of the shortage of goods, market-oriented prices would lead to inflation. Who fixes the price increases?

Petrakov: My proposal is to take an old good, determine that the new one is better by, for instance, some 20 percent, and increase the price accordingly. However, that does not solve the problem that the price for the old product may have been wrong and may not have met market requirements.

SPIEGEL: Without competition, you absolutely cannot determine prices. Fixed prices do not reflect shortages-,they do not direct production to where there is need, and they do not stop excessive production. What does a national retail price in your country say, in fact?

Petrakov: Well, many prices reflect the good social intentions of the administration, which often are quite far from economic reality. For instance, we want all goods for children to be as cheap as possible in our country so as to stimulate the birthrate. In most cases we forget that first there must be investment to ensure the sufficient amount of such goods.

Second, the producers' monopoly position is reflected in the prices that we have had so far. It is very comfortable to establish a higher price without seeking better quality or a wider range of products.

SPIEGEL: Almost 15 percent of consumer goods, ranging from the automobile to the potato, are so inferior that they are fit only for scrap or rotten even at the moment they are being bought. How do you intend to achieve better quality through new price levels?

Petrakov: Prices must be reduced radically for inferior goods. Should the producer not learn his lesson from that he should go bankrupt. The workers may continue to earns their wages. That is all right with me. We would at least save energy and raw materials. For some plants, an immediate shutdown would mean minimizing losses.

SPIEGEL: How many staff members does the national price committee have, and what will its tasks be following the reform?

Petrakov: Some 1,000 people, I think. Aside from that, the committee exists in each of the 15 union republics. In my opinion, the committee should no longer fix prices. Instead, it should work on methods and regulations to set prices for products like gas, oil, and electrical power, which influence the whole system—or possibly when it comes to meat, butter, and bread. That is so important because we have to establish a market under monopoly conditions.

SPIEGEL: Is such a monopoly bad?

Petrakov: The investment policy to date was based on a mania for giantism. Giant plants were built to keep down production costs. As a result we have a super plant for the production of perfume, instead of three or four of such facilities. That means that all women smell the same. The monopolist tendencies of such producers in shaping prices must be controlled. It is in that field that the price committee should have to take over an important role as arbitrator in the future.

SPIEGEL: In what way?

Petrakov: In our current national enterprise law there is a passage that all national bodies have to ensure economic competition and counteract any producers' trends toward monopolies.

That is a completely new determination of nations behavior. From now on the administration is obliged to protect and represent consumer interests. However, the function of the planning bodies must do a 180-degree turn for that purpose. So far they have represented producers alone. Regarding party institutions, there is not much difference.

SPIEGEL: The accounting basis for important goods in CEMA already is the world market price, meaning the price estimated by the capitalist world. Is the USSR ready to introduce a convertible currency?

Petrakov: We are ready to do so, and we should not wait too long.

SPIEGEL: What makes you hesitate to take such a step?

Petrakov: To begin with, not all our partners within CEMA are equally interested. Objectively, we are in a different situation. We have raw materials—not the least, gold—and considerable foreign exchange. Would you accept us at all in the international monetary fund? Personally I do not think the Americans would be too happy about that. Some western countries believe it would be better for them if the Soviet Union took part in foreign trade relations only to a limited extent—by way of goods exchange, but not in the foreign exchange business.

SPIEGEL: But that is precisely what you wanted for decades, is it not?

Petrakov: Yes, but now we will soon want something different. So you in the West should be prepared for that.

SPIEGEL: Professor Petrakov, we thank you for this interview.

Joint Enterprises Said To Build Confidence

LD1705233788 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Practice has shown that the Law on Enterprises, formed jointly with foreign capital, which was adopted in the USSR in January 1987, proved to be effective on the whole, journalists have been told by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers. First such enterprise was registered by the Finance Ministry of the USSR in May last. There are over 40 of them now.

Initial apprehensions and misunderstandings were in many respects allayed. But a great many real problems have come to light, said the economist. Partners from capitalist countries complained against the principle of currency self-repayment of the joint enterprises, they did not like that they should cover all their expenditures in foreign currency by export receipts. It was explained to foreign partners that Soviet enterprises function in the foreign market on the same principle. Exports are also the objective criterion of assessment of products of the enterprise: If its is competitive in the world market, the home market will also have good products. The partners who lack currency to transfer their profits abroad are allowed to spend part of the money in roubles to purchase the Soviet commodities they need.

There were also apprehensions that 51 per cent shares in the hands of the Soviet side will deprive the foreign partner of the right to participate in managing the enterprise. These also proved to be untenable. In specific contracts the sides recorded the range of questions which are to be resolved only unanimously. Besides, foreign

specialists are included into joint boards of directors. Usually these are posts of managers in charge of new technology, quality and export.

Mention should be made of the problem of supplies for joint enterprises from the home market. This problem is still outstanding. The situation will improve by 1990 when joint enterprises reach their design capacity. And so far ministries and local government bodies have to stand by the joint enterprises from their funds. It also became clear that foreign partners in making their share to the authorized capital of joint enterprises resort to a greater extent than expected to loan financing. Soviet partners also started taking credits for the purpose. There is the question of guaranteeing such credits. The Soviet economist stressed the need for elaborating in the country special legislation on joint stock companies.

On the whole it can be stated, said Ivan Ivanov, that establishment of joint enterprises helps build up confidence. In this sense it works for new political thinking.

Agricultural

Pasturing Period Demands Skillful Work

PM1705161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Making Skillful Use of Pastureland Means Accelerating the Resolution of the Food Problem"]

[Text] Stockmen have special hopes for the summer season. Nature is presenting people with tremendous green wealth. They must make skillful use of it and display native wit to obtain as much meat and milk as possible.

The stockmen of Belorussia, for example, have learned this old truth well. Precisely through making skillful use of pastureland and certain other measures people there increased the dairy herd's productivity by more than 800 kg during the last 5-year period and significantly increased the weight gains. This can also be said of many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Lithuania and Latvia and in Leningrad, Moscow, and a number of other oblasts. Many farms there have perennial cultivated pastureland. Summer camps equipped with mobile and stationary milking installations have been constructed for cows. To increase the return from meadows in Estonia cows are not culled in summer, and sales of young livestock are postponed until the fall. In general, people endeavor to take from the land in full measure.

Of course, pastureland is not a panacea. Account has to be taken of the fact that it does not exist everywhere. Take the country's southern regions. The land there is almost 100-percent plowed up. In certain other regions, too, year-round stalling of livestock is preferred. Well, each collective has to proceed from the specific conditions. It is important that the correct choice is made and local potential taken more fully into account. The criterion is clear and simple: If a technique does not ensure full-value feed rations and good milk yields and weight gains, this means it is inefficient. The correct choice of feed crops and advanced agricultural techniques—this is what guarantees a weighty harvest of grasses, a rich ration, and growth in milk yields and weight gains. At the same time, young animals grow strong not by the day but by the hour, as it were, and with the reproduction of the herd matters are rectified more rapidly. A factor of considerable significance! For, compared with the same period last year, there has been an appreciable thinning of the cattle herd and of hogs on many farms, as well as a fall in the number of calves being born.

Good organization of summer pasturage is also the calling card of the rural specialist's work. It is precisely zootechnical and organizational shortcomings that hold back production. Working people on Georgian and Moldavian meat units have slipped back. Purchases of livestock and poultry have fallen in Tataria and Krasnodar Kray. True, thanks to the efforts of other republics and oblasts, the first quarter's target for meat sales to the state was, on the whole, fulfilled. However, the pace of increase in output could have been higher if people had acted more carefully at local level. Is it not clear, for example, that in the pasture season it is particularly important to increase fattening herds and give all possible assistance in raising livestock on farmsteads? This will make it possible to make fuller use of grasses to replenish meat and milk resources. Economically mature, carefully considered actions are needed everywhere.

Links and teams working to an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] contract are setting an example of initiative. Many families lease small livestock units and make good use of every scrap of pastureland and hayfield. The costs are minimal, but the return is weighty. Having taken on 64 cows, the family collective of A. Pelekh on the Lenin Kolkhoz in Voroshilovgrad Oblast's Belovodskiy Rayon managed in the space of just 1 year to increase their productivity by 1,500 kg. The lease contract has now been tried everywhere. Its broad utilization, as was pointed out at the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with workers of contract collectives, is the shortest path to food sufficiency. People must be helped to master it more quickly.

Agricultural cooperatives have actively joined in the production of meat and milk. In practice, however, cooperative members often find themselves inside the labyrinth of all sorts of prohibitions and restrictions which are capable of stifling any sound initiative. It is incumbent upon soviet and economic organs to impose order in this work. The decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR paved a broad path for initiative and enterprise in rural working people's work. It is important to

fully utilize at the local level the effective forms of labor organization and remuneration to increase the production of output.

During the summer, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will have to achieve significant increases of milk yields and weight gains compared with last year. There are considerable opportunities to achieve this. They include the millions of tonnes of feed left over from the winter. Given a sensible approach, they offer a good supplement for pastures. And what great reserves exist to boost the returns from meadows! After all, just simple improvements like the elimination of hummocks and shrubs, the application of fertilizers, and the undersowing of grasses make it possible to double and triple the harvest yields from fields. It is time for land reclamation workers to join this work—so far only 7 percent of natural feed land is in proper order.

Summer is approaching. Before we know it, the time for feed procurement will be upon us. Is everything ready for it, are the feed storage facilities reliable? The present availability of silage and haylage storage facilities on farms is sufficient to handle just three-fourths of the harvest. The situation is even worse regarding storage facilities for hay and root crop feeds. Does this mean that considerable losses are again likely to occur? Such fears have been alerting stock unit workers for many years. Unfortunately, they have been justified only too often. When will this deficient practice come to an end? Is it possible to tolerate the pace of construction work in Turkmenia and Kazakhstan, where last year's plan for the construction of silage and haylage storage capacities was essentially thwarted?

By no means everything is proceeding properly with the preparation of equipment, either. It is already May, but there are thousands of hay mowers, silage harvesting combines, and much other equipment waiting to brought to a state of readiness. Farms in Ryazan, Novosibirsk, Chita, and a number of other oblasts have been especially slow in preparing their machinery pool. This is nothing new, but it can very seriously complicate feed procurements. Why are there no conclusions drawn from the bitter lessons of the past?

Time is the commodity in the shortest supply at the height of field work. How can it be best utilized so that one may manage to do everything? It is important to make this the focus of organizational and political work in labor collectives. The most important point is not to forget the stockmen's needs. Many of them will be living in distant pastures, away from their families and home comforts. This means it is necessary to create good living conditions for them, to show concern for medical services, reliable communications, and transportation to ensure that there are no breakdowns in supplies of food and basic necessities.

Concern for people above all else.

Ligachev Addresses Mixed Feed Conference

PM1805080788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee. Accelerating the Development of the Mixed Feed Industry"]

[Text] A conference held at the CPSU Central Committee 11 May considered measures to improve the performance of the mixed feed industry and to enhance the quality of its output.

The conference was attended by union republic Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, chairmen of republic gosagroproms, union republic ministers of grain products, secretaries of a number of party obkoms and kraykoms, chairmen of oblast agroproms, chiefs of RSFSR grain product administrations, leaders of many union and republic ministries and departments and mixed feed industry enterprises, scientists, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

The conference was opened by Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. He said that the party had defined a substantial improvement in food supplies, in the provision of basic food products to the population, within the next 2-3 years as one of the priority tasks of the policy of restructuring, as stated in the M.S. Gorbachev report at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum.

In the current 5-year plan, on the basis of the organizational work carried out by the party in implementing the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and 27th CPSU Congress directives, the production and per capita consumption of meat, milk, and other products has increased. In the 1986-1987 period the production of meat, milk, and eggs increased by 13, 9, and 9 percent respectively. However, it must also be remembered that the country's population is increasing by 2.5 million annually. In many parts of the country the increased production of livestock products has failed to generate an appreciable improvement in the supplies of meat and milk products to the population. Per capita consumption in 1987 totaled 63 kg of meat and 343 kg of milk.

It is therefore necessary to bring into play factors which will produce returns both now and in the future. These include economic accountability, contract work, intensive techniques, and the provision of feed resources for livestock raising.

If current feed grain resources were utilized entirely in the form of mixed feeds, per capita consumption of livestock products could be considerably increased. The topicality of the question submitted for discussion at the present conference lies in this fact.

So what is to be done to this end?

First, it is necessary to accelerate the expansion of the material and technical base of the mixed feed industry and raise it to a higher technical standard. The fact that the plan for the commissioning of mixed feed production capacities was fulfilled only 75 percent within the system of the USSR Ministry of Grain Products in 1986-1987 is cause for concern. Uzbek and Tajik Union Republic Construction Ministries and RSFSR and Kazakh gosagroprom construction organizations have incurred particularly big debts.

Mixed feed industry capacities must be increased through both the construction of new enterprises and the retooling of existing plants. The funds channeled into reconstruction and retooling total only 10 percent of the overall volume of capital investments, despite the fact that expenditure per unit of increased capacity by means of reconstruction is less than half that of new construction. It is necessary to radically review the investment policy and to considerably increase the proportion of funds channeled into retooling existing enterprises.

While expanding and qualitatively improving the material and technical base of the mixed feed industry, we must not forget the social sphere—the creation of a pleasant production environment, modern working conditions, and essential consumer support facilities.

Second, the solution of the problem of the quantity of mixed feeds depends directly, apart from equipment, on the quantity and quality of raw materials, both vegetable and animal, and also chemical and microbiological additives.

It is necessary to make fuller use of local resources to enhance the quality of mixed feeds, following the example of Belgorod Oblast, for instance. Chemical-complex ministries must step up the production of microbiological raw materials. Less than 50 percent of the mixed feed industry's requirements are being met regarding a number of these additives.

Third, it is very important to bring economic organizational methods and the human factor into play. It is a question of economically coordinating the quantity and quality of mixed feeds with the livestock output production level. To achieve this it is necessary to have permanent, long-term contract relations between raw material suppliers, feed producers, and their clients—kolkhozes and sovkhozes—and to introduce material incentives for labor collectives supplying high quality raw materials and mixed feeds which guarantee definite increases in livestock output.

Fourth, our mixed feed industry is a sector in which scientific and technical progress has had the least impact. It is necessary to focus scientific research on the elaboration of new technologies and their assimilation. The lack of modern equipment is largely responsible for delays in this sector. Here everything now depends on the machine building and defense complexes, which have been entrusted with the production of machines and equipment for the processing of agricultural raw materials.

And last, Ye.K. Ligachev said, we would be making a mistake if in parallel with drawing up a major program for the development of the mixed feed industry we did not pay attention to the training of the necessary cadres—technologists, economists, organizers, operators, and cadres responsible for the technical servicing of the equipment. A great deal can be achieved in the mixed feed industry through the creation of stable labor collectives at enterprises and stepped-up work by primary party organizations and party committees.

The country's mixed feed industry has solid production facilities at its disposal, A.D. Budyka, USSR minister of grain products, said delivering the report. However, they are utilized inefficiently and the quality of mixed feeds produced at a number of enterprises does not correspond to the prescribed requirements. The main causes of this situation are insufficient supplies of raw materials, especially protein raw materials, and the poor material and technical base of many enterprises which, in comparison with world standards, are equipped with outdated, low-performance equipment and are using obsolete production techniques.

Citing possible ways out of the prevailing situation, the speaker drew attention to the need for the broad dissemination of available positive experience in the construction of mixed feed plants on the basis of interdepartmental production sharing by means of pooling state, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz resources and utilizing the potential of local construction organizations.

A considerable proportion of the work at mixed feed enterprises is work in difficult conditions connected with the unloading and processing of unwieldy or mineral raw materials which arrive in bulk or in packaging that is difficult to handle.

At present the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, in cooperation with the machine building ministries, is implementing a program for the development of new machines and their increased production in 1988-1995, including complete production lines for new production processes.

A promising sphere is the improvement of labor organization forms at mixed feed enterprises and the introduction of computer-based automated control systems for production processes. It is necessary to intensify attention to the training of specialists and mass profession cadres for the mixed feed industry, to labor organization and remuneration, to the latest methods of management, and to the improvement of the working people's working and living conditions.

The conference was also addressed by V.N. Poletskov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; V.A. Bykov, minister of the USSR medical and microbiological industry; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom; Yu.A. Kolomiyets, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom; V.Ya. Pechenov, director of the Moscow Oblast Ramenskoye mixed feed plant; and S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee.

The speakers focused attention on key problems of the development of the mixed feed industry and the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production. The importance was stressed of radically improving the situation at every enterprise and enhancing output quality on the basis of progressive technologies and new forms of labor organization and remuneration.

The conference was addressed by V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. He analyzed shortcomings in the work of the mixed feed industry and emphasized that the USSR Gosagroprom and USSR Ministry of Grain Products must elaborate a clear-cut program for the development of the mixed feed industry and define ways of increasing the production of mixed feeds, protein and vitamin supplements, and other additives.

At present a substantial proportion of the mixed feeds, even those produced within the system of the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, does not correspond to requirements in terms of either quality or nutritive properties. For instance, almost one-third of mixed feeds for poultry, more than one-third of mixed feeds for hogs, and one-half the mixed feeds for cows have a deficient protein balance. The situation is no better at interfarm plants, where one-half of the produced mixed feeds are not balanced.

Dwelling on questions of construction, the CPSU Central Committee secretary focused attention on the need to build new mixed feed plants above all in those republics and oblasts which import large quantities of mixed feed annually.

The speaker discussed the need for a changed attitude to the raw material base of the mixed feed industry. The potential for increasing the production of protein raw materials does exist in the country, he stressed. Oil-yielding crops and pulses can be grown virtually everywhere. However, farms in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia and in Central Chernozem, Volga, and North Caucasus regions are by no means utilizing their reserves for increasing the production of sunflowers, soybeans, and other oil-yielding crops and pulses.

Special attention must be paid to rape. The area of rape cultivation for seed must be increased fourfold, and gross production of rape must be increased to at least 1.5 million tonnes against 295,000 tonnes in 1987.

In addition to augmenting the production of oil-yielding crops, potential for replenishing the resources of high-protein supplements through the thorough utilization of livestock, meat, dairy, and fish industry waste must be fully exploited everywhere.

The USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, USSR Gosagroprom, and other ministries and departments must ensure accelerated growth in the production of high-grade protein, microbiological synthesis, and the output of amino acids, vitamins, and antibiotics. It is necessary not only to fulfill, but to considerably exceed the set targets for the production of these components.

Considerable savings of grain in the production of mixed feeds can be achieved through the extensive utilization of nongrain fillers such as grass and pine-needle meal, dry sugar beet bagasse, molasses, phosphates, zeolite, chalk, and other mineral additives.

In this context it is necessary in every republic, kray, oblast, and rayon to step up work to increase the production of high-protein supplements and other nongrain components and to shape the structure of the grain balance in accordance with the needs of livestock raising so as to achieve the production of mixed feeds with a balanced content of main nutritive elements from own resources and, on this basis, to seek to achieve higher livestock and poultry productivity and a reduced consumption of grain for feed purposes.

Stepped-up monitoring of the quality of mixed feeds is of great importance. In the current year the state acceptance system is being introduced at 47 mixed feed plants. This is an important process, and it needs to be accelerated and expanded.

With a view to further improving the organization of mixed feed production the sector's key tasks were outlined. The state mixed feed industry must focus its efforts on the production of the required quantities of full-ration mixed feeds for poultry and hog raising and highly productive dairy herds, produce sufficient quantities of starter mixed feeds for young animals, and manufacture high-grade protein and vitamin supplements and additives for balancing the mixed feeds and feed mixtures produced at interfarm enterprises and on the farms themselves. In addition to state enterprises, the capacities of interfarm plants and sovkhoz and kolkhoz plants and workshops must be augmented.

Summing up the conference results, Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized that to advance the mixed feed industry, and agro-industrial production as a whole, it is necessary in every republic, kray, and oblast to involve the existing national economic sector production and scientific potential irrespective of affiliation more fully on the basis of contract commitments.

Taking part in the conference were O.D. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom.

Scientific

Zamyatin on Loss of 'Cosmos-1900' Contact

LD1805102588 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0952 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Radio contact has been lost with one of the Soviet Union's nuclear-powered earth-orbiting satellites, Moscow has admitted to a British MP in a letter made public today.

Mr Irvine Patnic, Conservative member for Sheffield Hallam, has also been told the satellite will remain in orbit until August-September when it will "cease its existence".

He wrote to the Soviet ambassador, Mr Leonid Zamyatin, following reports that the Cosmos 1900 was orbiting out of control and was in danger of plunging to earth.

Mr Zamyatin has told him: "A nuclear-powered Soviet satellite, Cosmos 1900, was launched on December 12, 1987.

"According to the competent Soviet authorities, there was a breakdown in radio contact with the satellite in April, 1988. Presently, the satellite will stay in orbit until August-September, 1988, and after that will cease its existence. As for radiation, Cosmos 1900 is equipped with the systems providing radiological security on the termination of the flight.

"I can also assure you that Cosmos 1900 flight is constantly monitored by the controls from the earth. I hope this information will prove useful to you and your colleagues, as I have received it from the most authoritative sources."

Mr Patnick said: "I have to accept what he has said. But in August and September I shall do some more checking and will be rattling at his cage again."

'Mir' Cosmonauts Unload 'Progress-36'

LD1705124288 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov opened their 22nd week in space.

They began unloading the unmanned freighter Progress-36 which had brought up a considerable amount of scientific equipment for research under the program of the upcoming Soviet-Bulgarian mission, as well as expendable materials and various other cargoes.

The resident crew are to run checks on this equipment and set it up for joint work aboard the orbiting platform.

Today's program provides for geophysics and astrophysics experiments and for maintenance work on the temperature control system.

Studies involving the Roentgen orbital observatory are continuing as part of an international package of experiements into exoatmospheric astronomy. The observations today are focusing on a new X-ray star which lit up in the Vulpecula Constellation.

It is also planned to hold several imaging sessions to take pictures of parts of the Ursa Major constellation by dint of the ultra-violet telescope Glazar.

The flight is proceeding according to plan.